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OF

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NOVEMBER, 1889,

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OF

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THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1889.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

First Meeting, 5th November, 1889.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, F. L. Griffith:—The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh. London. Fol., 1889.

From the Author, Rev. P. Cesare A. De Cara, D.C.D.G.:—Gli Hyksôs o Re Pastori di Egitto. 8vo. Roma, 1889.

From the Author, D. Simonson, Rabbin:—Sculptures et Inscriptions de Palmyre à la Glyptothèque de Ny Carlsberg. 8vo. Copenhagen, 1889.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—Aegyptologische Studien.

Die Praeposition χ eft. Die Augenschminke mestem. 8vo. Bonn, 1889.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—Wm. Flinders Petrie, Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe.

Review of (Reprint).

[No. LXXXVI.]

- From the Author, Rev. I. N. Fradenburgh, Ph.D., D.D.:—Old Heroes, the Hittites of the Bible. New York. 8vo. 1889.
- From the Author, Dr. F. E. Peiser:—Die Zugehörigkeit der unter Nr. 84. 2–11 im British Museum registrirten Thontafelsammlung zu den Thontafelsammlungen des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin. 8vo.
 - Sitz. der K. Pruss. Akad. der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1889. xxxviii.
- From the Author, Dr. C. P. Tiele:—Over de spijkerschrifttafels onlanges te Tell-el-Amarna gevonden. 8vo. Amsterdam. 1889.
 - Koninklijke Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling, Letterkunde 3de. Reeks, Deel VI.
- From the Author, W. G. Hird:—Monumental Records, or the Inscriptions of Assyria and Babylonia, and their bearing on Bible History, &c. London, 1889.
- From the Author, Dr. O. V. Lemm:—Sahidische Bibelfragmente. 8vo. 1889, St. Pétersbourg.

 Mélanges Asiatiques, T. X, Livr. 1.
- From the Author, Rev. A. J. Delattre, S.J.:—Les Chaldéens jusqu'à la formation de l'Empire de Nabuchodonosor, précéde de considérations sur un récent livre de M. Hugo Winckler. (Two editions.) Louvain, 1889.
- From the Author, Dr. Hugo Winckler. Plagiat?—Antwort auf die von A. J. Delattre, S.J., gegen mich erhobenen beschuldigungen. 8vo. Leipzig, 1889.
- From the Author, Prof. Robert W. Rogers:—Two Texts of Esarhaddon (King of Assyria 681–668 B.C.). 8vo.
 Haverford College Studies, No. 2.
- From the Author, Rev. J. A. Paine: The Pharaoh of the Exodus, and his Son, in the light of their Monuments.
 - Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine. Sept., 1889. Vol. XXXVIII, No. 5.
- From the Editor:—The Pharaoh and Date of the Exodus, a Study in Comparative Chronology. By Jacob Schwartz.
 - The Theological Monthly. 8vo. No. 3. March, 1889, London.

From the Author, Robt. Brown, Jr., F.S.A., &c.:—The Etruscan Numerals.

The Archæological Review, Vol. III, Nos. 5 and 6. July, 1889.

From A. Karoly:—L'homme préhistorique: L'origine du Langage; par Zaborowski. L'Asie Occidentale et l'Égypte; par A. Ott. 8vo. Paris.

Bibliothèque Utile, Vols. XV, L, and XXXIII.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 3rd December, 1889:—

Dr. Martin Jäger, Keilstrasse, 1811, Leipzig.

Rev. Thomas Robson Pickering, Harrington, West Cumberland.

Jos. C. Green, M.D., Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.

John T. D. Llewelyn, Penllergare, Swansea.

Dr. Léon de Lantsheere, 210, Rue du Trône, Bruxelles.

Prof. R. L. Bensly, Professor of Arabic, Caius College, Cambridge. Monsieur l'Abbé Martin, Paris.

Prof. O. Donner, Helsingfors University, Finland.

Alexander Payne, F.R.I., B.A., F.S.I., A.I.C E., 4, Storeys Gate, St. James's Park, S.W.

Rev. Edward George King, D.D., Vicar of Madingley, Cambridge. Mrs. Voile, 10, Museum Mansion, Great Russel Street, W.C.

The Ven. James Augustus Hersly, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., Archdeacon of Middlesex, 41, Leinster Gardens, Hyde Park, W.

A Paper was read by Rev. C. J. Ball, entitled, "Notes on the Accadian Language."

A Paper by Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S., entitled, "The Tree and Fruit represented by the Tappūakh of the Hebrew Scriptures," was read by the Rev. A. Löwy.

THE NEW ACCADIAN.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A., Oxon.,

CHAPLAIN OF LINCOLN'S INN; FORMERLY CENSOR AND LECTURER IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

Some time ago I began to study Chinese, not so much with a view to mastering the literature of that remarkable language, as for purposes of philological comparison. I had not gone far before I was struck by an apparent parallelism of sound between a series of terms with which I was already familiar in the Babylonian syllabaries, and a Chinese series of similar import. The Accadian terms were these:

and the Chinese:

ye, "father" (Amoy iâ).yueh, "moon."yu, "hand."yu, "young."

These coincidences appeared to me so curious, that I thought it might be worth while to make further investigation in order to determine, if possible, whether there might not be something more in them than mere accident. I could not help remembering that in Accadian the moon is a *goddess*, and the consort of the sun, just as she is in Chinese, whereas in the Semitic languages generally, the term for "moon" is of the masculine gender; so that a Babylonian or an Assyrian uninfluenced by non-Semitic ideas, would have naturally spoken of the moon-*god*. Then, again, the Turkish $\hat{a}i$, "moon," was present to my mind, as also the Coptic *Ioh* (a descendant of the old Egyptian $\hat{a}ab$), and even the Greek *Io*, which Pausanias tells us was a title of the moon-goddess at Argos. It seemed noteworthy that all these names contained the *y*-sound, which Assyrian scholars consider to be either expressed or suppressed in the sign Y, Y, a-a or a-i.

Now it was plain that if I wished to trace a possible connection between two languages so remote from each other in time and place as the old non-Semitic idiom of Babylonia and the Mandarin dialect of Chinese, it would not do to be satisfied with mere similarities of sound, even when the inference of identity might seem to be confirmed by similarity of meaning. Scientific philology is not a hotchpotch of isolated resemblances. The proper course appeared to be to try to establish uniformities in the permutation of sounds between the two languages.

I had chanced to begin with words presenting an initial y in Chinese, so I proceeded to look for other instances of correspondence involving this letter. The advanced stage of phonetic decay presented by the Mandarin dialect, and the fact, familiar in philology, of initial G wearing down in course of time to a Y sound, at once suggested that the numerous cases of initial Y in the common language of modern China might exemplify this change. If this idea were correct, and Chinese were really cognate with Accadian, I expected to find that the substitution of an initial G for a Y in Chinese words would yield forms recognisably related to corresponding Accadian terms. Accordingly, I wrote the Chinese ye, "night," with a g, and got the Accadian GE, "night" (Assyrian mtisu). It was an isolated fact, but it encouraged me to pursue what might, after all, turn out to be a will-o'-the-wisp. The result was the following list:

ACCADIAN.

GÊ, GÊA, "night." GIG (salmu), "shadow," "dark," "image," "likeness." (eqlitu), "darkness." GU (šasû, qibû, apâlu, etc.), "to speak." GIG (marşu, murşu), "sick," "sickness." GANA (ginû), "garden." (eqlu), "field." GIŠ, GI (êdu), "one." GEŠ (≒ GAŠ), šikaru, "new wine," or "strong drink" of any kind. GIN (alâku), "to walk," "march."

CHINESE.

ye, "night."
ying, "a shadow"; yu, "dark."
yin, "shady," "a shade."

yü, "to speak"; yen, "word."

yang, "sickness."

yuen, "garden."

yih, "one."
yu, "new wine."

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GI, GIN (qanû), "a reed."

yih, "a dart"; yoh, "a musical reed"; yin, "a long spear, or pointed weapon."

(GIŠ)KAN-NA (GANAĠ? GANA? yin, "a seal."

kunukku), "a seal."

ĠU (iṣṣûru), "a bird," "winged yü, "wings"; yi', "wings." thing," volucris, τὸ πετεινόν.

ĠA (nûnu), "a fish."

yü, "fish."

yu, "to be."
```

Having obtained similar results from the comparison of eight other initial consonants, b, d, k, p, t, l, m, n, š, s, I thought I might venture to lay the whole before Professor R. K. Douglas, of the British Museum. I was especially anxious to know where to find the older forms of the Chinese language, as it was obvious that, if my theory of an earlier g in place of the Mandarin y could be supported by the history of the language, the above comparisons would be all the more secure. Professor Douglas gave me every possible encouragement to continue my researches, and advised the use of Dr. Samuel Wells Williams' great Syllabic Dictionary (Shanghai, 1874).*

To recur now to the list of apparently common terms which I have already indicated; there would be little difficulty in extending the list to almost indefinite dimensions, especially if we have regard to the older forms of the Chinese words as recorded in the native dictionaries, and as preserved in the actual usage of the so-called Chinese dialects, or rather cognate languages of Amoy, Canton, Swatow, Fuhchau, Shanghai, and Chifu, of which the first two appear to have undergone least phonetic change. For instance, GUD, GU (alpu, šûru,), is Accadian for "ox," "cow." This corresponds to

^{*} Afterwards I procured a dictionary of the Amoy vernacular, by the Rev. Carstairs Douglas (London, Trübner, 1873); a grammar and reading-book of the Canton dialect by the Rev. W. Lobscheid (Hong Kong, 1864); Du Ponceau on Chinese Writing (Philadelphia, 1838), which includes a lexicon of the Cochin Chinese; Stephan Endlicher's Anfangsgründe der Chinesischen Grammatik (Wien, 1845); Bayer's Museum Sinicum (Petropoli, 1730), and other works. When this paper was already at press, Professor Douglas kindly lent me Dr. Edkins' monograph 'The Evolution of the Chinese Language' (Trübners, 1888), in which I find many remarkable facts that tell in favour of the views expressed in the text. The 'Chinese Manual' of Professor Douglas has also been of the greatest service to me, owing to the clear and handy form in which it presents a multitude of facts (London, 1889).

the Chinese niu, "ox," "cow," "cattle," of which one of the old sounds was ngu, and which appears in Cantonese as ngau, in Swatow as gu, in Amoy as giu, in Fuhchau as ngiu, as well as under the forms nu, nuk, nau, liu. Niu is nyu = ngu. Now it is an interesting fact, upon which Dr. Jensen has laid special emphasis, that initial g is often nasalized in Accadian, e.g., GALU, "man" is, strictly speaking, NGALU. This seems to prove the identity of Accadian GU (NGU) with Chinese niu (nyu). GID, GIDDA, again, is the Accadian for Ass. arku, "long," nasâhu, "to remove," elipu, "to last long," etc. This seems to answer to the Chinese yü, "vague," "vast," "distant," which, like the Accadian and Assyrian terms, is used of both time and place (yü kiu, "a very long time"). GAB (paţâru), "to loose," "free," answers to yü, "loose," "free." Chinese regularly drops the final consonants k, p, t (= g, b, d); but among the old sounds of the words just mentioned, Dr. Williams gives ngop, ngot, which might represent the Accadian GAB (ngab) and GID (ngid). The Accadian has another GAB, meaning irtu, "breast." The Chinese yi, "breast," is placed under a root YIH, with the old forms yik, yit, yip, ngik, etc. Thus GIB (= GAB) would seem to have been the original Chinese term for "breast." Under the same root we find yi', "strong," "tall," which may be the counterpart of GIT, GID, "long." It is to be borne in mind that the Accadian signs for gap, git, would be the same as for gab, gid. Under the same heading $Y\ddot{U}$, we find yü, "to speak," "say"; yü "to talk with," "tell," "inform," "words," which are clearly doubles of the Accadian GU, "to speak," and yü, "sick," "weak"; yü, "to be cured," "disease"; yü, "a cry of pain"; yü, "sorrowful," "grieved at," answering again to Accadian GIG, "sick," "sorrowful" (cf. yok, i.e., gug, one of the old sounds of vii).

We have not yet done with the Chinese yü. It is a curious fact that, just as in Accadian, we find two similar vocables Gul (limnu) and Gul (liadû), with the opposite meanings of "bad" and "glad," so in Chinese we find yü, "sorrowful," and yü, "joyful," "happy." Yü, "fat," "rich," "fertile" (of soil), and yü, "rich (in clothes and chattels)," "plenty," "to enrich," remind one of the Accadian G'Ê, "abundance" (cp. NAM-G'Ê, duldu, G'Ê-GAL, liegallu, G'Ê-NUN, nulisu); and I think that G'AL, "to flow," G'AL-G'AL (garâru ša mê), "to run," said of water, may be connected with these words; compare the Chinese yü, "to rain." The Chinese yü, "to walk rapidly," may answer to G'AL G'AL, garâru, though it is perhaps rather

related to GIN, "to walk." There is also GUR, "to rush," "flow," "run," "hasten," and GUR, "ocean," which answer very well to $y\ddot{u}$; for (1) Chinese has lost the letter r, and (2) Accadian itself often omits it as a final consonant; ϕ . GA = GAR, "to make"; TU = TUR, "to enter"; GA = GUR, "to lift."

The Chinese roots $Y\ddot{U}$, YIH, appear to be ultimately one. Thus it is that we find yi, "to pour out," and yi, "damp," "wet," and yi', "very large," "great," "abundant," and yi', "happy," "jovial," "to like," "rejoice in," arranged under the latter, showing that it is in many respects synonymous with the former. The old sounds yik, yit, yip, ngik, point to the same fact, and the Accadian G'E, "abundance," G'AL, "to flow," may be as well explained by these terms as by the derivatives of $Y\ddot{U}$. And not only so; under the heading YIH we find also yi', "the throat," "organs of eating and speaking," in Cantonese "to call after," "scold," yi, "to explain," "interpret between parties," plainly answering to the Accadian GU (kišâdu), "the neck," GU, "to speak" and "interpret" (ragâmu, cp. targumannu, "interpreter," "dragoman"). Then, too, we have vi', "black," yi', "mists and vapours," answering to Accadian Gê, "night," GIG, "darkness," "shadow," and yi', "plague," "epidemic sickness," yi', "disquieted," "sorrowful," answering to the Accadian GIG, "sick," "sickness." The ideas of dark (tristis, ater, קדר, etc.), sick, sorrowful, are naturally expressed by similar sounds. Now, as in Accadian we meet with synonymous forms like GI and GIN, TI and TIN, so in Chinese we find the root YIN (old sounds yin, yim, ngin) with various meanings akin to those of $Y\ddot{U}$ and YIH. Thus we have yin, "a shadow," "dark," "sombre," i.e., gin, cp. Accadian GÊ, GIG; yin, "mournful," "sorry," cp. Accadian GIG; yin, "full," "flourishing," "abundant," "many," cp. Accadian G'E; yin, "rising of waters," "to soak," "to drench," "extraordinary," "excessive," and yin, "a long and drenching rain," cp. Accadian G'AL and G'È. Further, we have yin, "news," "a reply," "an intimation or order," corresponding to the Accadian GIN (GÊN), šapāru, "to send," tāru, "to return," GI, GIGI, "to return," apâlu, "to answer," KIN (GIN), šipru, "a message," "order," "commission." The Accadian GAM, "to bend," "bow" (beugen, biegen), may be compared with GIN, "to bow, bend, turn, return," which is written with the ideogram of reed or bulrush, and the Chinese 'yin, "to draw a bow," "to lead on," which is homophonous with 'yin (Acc. GIN), "to journey," may be compared with both. The Accadian has several words with

an initial g (k, g), meaning "bright," "clear," "pure"; viz., KU (GU? c.p. ⊧ [E] = DUMUGU, "the brilliant son," i.e., Sin), êllu, "bright," of which Haupt supposes an original form kuš, guš, kun (gun), "to shine," GAR, "to glitter," "splendour," GUB, "bright," "pure," and G'UD "to shine." Of these the first, KU or GU, "bright," is involved in the compound KU-BABBAR, "silver," which thus seems to mean "bright white (metal)."* The Chinese word yin, Amoy gûn, Changchew gîn, preserves the first part of the term, which is clearly a near relative of KUN (GUN), "to shine." Gu- in this word and in GUS-KIN, "gold," may further be compared with the Chinese yii, "pure, hard gold," "precious," "valuable"; yü, "the full glory of the sun," "the bright light"; yü, "the bright blaze of fire," "glorious," "shining." The older sounds are yok, ngok, yik; the Cantonese has also wat, wik, the Swatow gek, út, the Amoy út, lút, etc. Looking at all this, I am inclined to believe that the Accadian UDA, "day," UDU, the "sun," were originally GUD, GUDU; compare the name of Merodach, GUDIBIR (for the ending, see ZIMBIR, KIBIR, ZABAR). The fact that GUD is the term for "bull," is suggestive in this connection, considering the widespread association between the sun-god and the bull. † ZAGIN, ibbu, êllu, seems to be a compound of za, which we see also in ZA-BAR, namru, "shining," siparru, "copper," and GIN, GI, "bright," "glistening," which occurs in GI-BIL (older BIL-GI), "the fire-god." BIL or PIL is qalû, "to burn," and išatu, "fire." GI (dialectic DI or DÊ) means namâru, "to shine," and qalû, "to burn." In regard to NA ZAGIN = $ukn\hat{u}$, it is curious that $y\ddot{u}$, "beautiful," "precious," is also an old name of "clear white jade," and ordinarily means "gem," while yü is defined as "a beautiful stone like jasper," and another yii as "a pebble with stripes and colouring, which make it almost as valuable as a gem." Seals were sometimes made of NA ZAGIN, and yin' is a seal. (See also below, p. 30.) The Accadian G1, "a

^{*} BABBAR (= bar-bar) is defined by pişû, "white." Poh kin, "white gold," is a Chinese designation of silver.

[†] In Gudibir bir = bar, as in Zimbir (for Zubar) from zabar; the change being due to vowel-harmony. As bar may mean "bright," gudibir is perhaps "brightness of the sun." The names of the metals involve the sound $\stackrel{\checkmark}{+}$ "bar." $\stackrel{\checkmark}{+}$, "iron," is, perhaps, "metal of the sky," being named from the meteoric iron, which probably gave men their first knowledge of this metal. $\stackrel{\checkmark}{+}$, "lead," is called "water-metal," because it melts so easily. $\stackrel{\checkmark}{+}$, "copper," is "fire-metal," because of its red, fiery glow. Ear, in this connection, is apparently "bright substance," and then "metal."

king," may represent Chinese 'yin, "to grasp in the hand," "govern," "rule" ("true," "earnest"; cp. GINA = $k\hat{e}nu$), which is also "an old term for chief, principal, first" (old sounds yin, ngin). Yü, "to drive (i.e., grasp the reins), "manage," "rule"; "imperial," "royal" (old sounds ngo, ngop, etc.), seems to be cognate.

With GUN, "to shine," GUN-NI, "an oven" or "furnace," the Chinese yang, "to roast," a term used of cooking, and also of melting metals, is seen to be related when we notice that the old sound was yung, which points to an original GUN (cp. Amoy jong, giong, Fuhchau ngiong). From the same root springs yang, "the rising sun," yang, "lofty," "clear," "sunny light," yang, "the male of animals," "virility," corresponding to Acc. GI-š, GI, zikaru, "male," and GIš, idlu, "hero" (?). 'GIš, "heaven," and GIR-RA (GIRA), "heaven," are akin to GUS and GAR, "to shine," and may be connected with the same Chinese roots. One of the meanings of yü is "the canopy of heaven." GA, GUR, "to lift," GU, "lifted up," seem to find analogues in yin (old sound ngin), "lofty and mountainous," yin, "high cliffs," yin, "rising of waters," "excessive," "great," yin, "to raise a bank," etc. I have already pointed out that GIS, "one," answers to yih, "one," and that GIS (gês), "strong drink," answers to yü. Finally, Gıš, işu, "wood," which has the dialectic forms MIŠ and MU, corresponds to the Chinese muh, "wood," older muk. The same apparent exception to the rule seems to exist in the case of a word for "eye," which in Chinese is also muh, but in the Accadian 1GI, with a dialectic form IDE. The Chinese yen or yien, "the eye," old sound vin, ngin, in Cantonese ngan, Amoy gan, Shanghai ngèn, exactly corresponds to the Accadian 1GI (1GIN). The Accadian IM-MA (IMA, IM) sûmu, "thirst," appears to correspond with 'yin, "to drink," Cantonese yam, Amoy im. The original form was probably GIM. The goddess Zirpanitu was called GAS-MU in Accadian, which perhaps means the same thing as her Assyrian title; cp. Cochin Chinese giou, semen, genus, gieo, seminare; mou, germen; mo (Mandarin mu), amare. (In Mandarin, yü' is "to long for," "desire," and also "to bear and bring up children.")* The word GUKKAL, from which is borrowed the Assyrian gukkallū, is supposed to mean "sheep." In that case, it may be compared with yang (old form yung, implying GUN or GUG), a "sheep" or "goat." DINGIRA, "god," with its Assyrianized form digirû, may be a compound of DI namâru, "to shine," and GIRA, "heaven" (di-ngira; cp. KINGIRA =

^{*} As Accadian MU = nadânu, "to give," GASMU may be "seed-giver."

ANA-KIA = šamê u irşitum. KINGIRA is plainly KI + NGIRA). The Accadian for "god," therefore, is "shining one of heaven," which explains why the ideogram is a star (-- \uparrow , orig. \clubsuit). Both roots exist in Chinese. GINGIRA, a title of Ištar, may = GI + NGIRA, and so be a dialectic form of the same term.

Tabulating these results for the sake of reference, we have:

ACCADIAN.

GUD, GU (igud, igu), "ox."
GID, "long."
GAB, "breast."
G'UL, "bad."
G'UL, "glad."
G'U, G'Ê, "plenty," "overflow."

G'AL, "to flow."

GUR, "to rush," "to flow," "run."

GUR, "the ocean."

GU, "the neck."
GU, "to interpret" (ragâmu).

GIN, "to send," "message,"
"order."
GI, GIGI, "to return," "to answer."
GAM, GIN, "to bend," "bow,"
beugen, biegen.

GU, GU-š, "bright," "glittering."
GUŠ-KIN, "gold."
GIN, GI, ZA-GIN, "gleaming."
GUN, "to shine," "be bright."
GUB, "bright," "pure."
GAR, "glitter," "glisten."
G'UD, "to become bright."
(G)UD, "the sun," "day."
GUDIBIR, Merodach.

CHINESE.

niu (nyu), ngu.

yü, "long"; yi', "tall."

yi', "breast."

yü, "sorrowful."

yü, "joyful"; yi', "happy."

yii, "fat," "rich," "fertile"; yi', "abundant."

yü', "plenty"; yin, "full," "abundant."

yü, "to rain," "rain"; yin, "rising of waters," "to drench."

yii, "to walk rapidly"; yi', "to pour out."

yi', "the throat."

yi', "to interpret between two parties," "to translate."

yin, "a reply," "news," "an order."

yin, "to bend a bow" (Bogen) (cp. Cantonese kam, "to lean over.")

yin (gûn, gîn), "silver."

yii', "pure gold," "precious";

yü, "jasper-like stone," etc.

yi?, "blaze of the sun," "bright light"; yang, "the rising sun."

yii, "sheen of fire," "glorious," "shining."

yin, "to rule"; yii, "to rule," GI, "a king." "royal." GUN-NI, "furnace." yang, "to roast." Giš, "male," "hero," or "strong." yang, "male," "virility." GIŠ, GIR, "heaven," DI-NGIR, vid. GUŠ, GAR, "to shine"; vü, "god." "canopy of heaven." (G)IM, IMMA, "thirst." yin, "to drink" (yam, im). GUK-KAL, "sheep" (?), "lamb." yang, "sheep," "goat"; kao, "a lamb." GA, GUR, "to lift up." yin, "lofty," etc.; yii, "to raise, gu, "lifted up." lift," "bring," "bear"; ho (older ga), "to bear," "carry on the back." G'AD, "stylus." vii', "a thing to write with," "stylus," "pen" (ngok, wat, út, etc.).

Here are some more remarkable—coincidences. In the syllabary we are all familiar with the equations:

LAL = $mal\hat{u}$, "to be full," "fill."

LAL = $\check{s}ap\hat{a}ku$, "to pour out."

LAL = šagâlu, "to weigh," "measure money," "pay."

LAL = mațû, "to be weak"; cp. LAL, enšu, "weak."

[LAL] = tarâşu, "to lay on in order," "lay straight" (beams of a roof, etc.).

 $[LAL] = rak \hat{a} s u$, "to bind."

[LAL] = samâdu, "to yoke," "harness," horses, etc.

 $KA-LAL = kal\hat{u} \, \check{s}a \, m\hat{e}$, "restraining," "damming up," said of water (2 R 21).

LAL = $am\hat{a}ru$, "to see."

âru, "to be bright." LAL =

LAL = šitê'u, "to look, search for."

našû, "to carry," "carry off." LAL =

sabâtu, "to seize." LAL =

kamaru, "a net." (GIŠ) LAL =

tuquntu, "battle." (GIŠ) LAL =

zanânu, "to rain." LAL-LAL =

LAL = adâru, "to fear."

LAL = $kam\hat{u}$, "to pile up."

ubburu ša amâti, "to overstep, of a command." LAL =

Is it quite presumptuous on the part of a mere believer in Accadian, to set over against these the Chinese equations:

LIAO = "to finish," "vollenden," "fulfil."

LIU = "to flow"; 'LAO, "heavy rain," "overflow produced thereby"; LAO', "a torrent," "floods."

LIAO = "to measure."

'LAO = "old;" LÉI, "feeble," "infirm."

¿LÉI = "to join in a series"; "to place on," "add to"; "to bind."

Lö', LÉ = "a bridle," "the reins," "whatever binds the head by which to lead the animal," "to rein in," "restrain," "tie up," "bind."

LIEH' = "a sewer obstructed, and its waters forcing a passage."

LAO = "to know certainly"; LAI, "to glance at"; LAN, "to inspect," "behold from a distance"; Lo (la), "to look about."

LI = "bright" = LAN; LAN, "fire" = LANG.

LAO = "to search or drag" (for a body); LAO YÜ, "to scoop out fish, with a dredging net."

LAI = "to bring," "to get"; LAN, "to carry"; LEU, "a loft."

LA = "to seize"; LAI, "to get"; LAN, "to grasp"; LO, "to take."

LAN = "a two-leaved clasping-net, for fish"; Lo (old sound la), "a spring-net for birds."

LÉI = "to mutually destroy, as in fighting"; LI, "to oppose."

LAO = "a great rain."

LAO = "confused," "perturbed."

LÉI = "to pile up"; "a heap."

LAN = "to overstep," "pass over."

As R and L interchange, $RA = rah\hat{a}su$, "to flood," may also be compared with 'LAO, "heavy rain" (= rihyu), and IR, "to weep," "a tear," with $l\hat{e}i$, "tears," "to weep." But I will venture further with these comparisons. In Accadian we have a word LABAR, "old," from which is derived the Assyrian $lah\hat{a}ru$, "to be old." There is also another LABAR defined ardu, "servant" (dialectic LAGAR). Now whatever may be the force of BAR in these two terms, I cannot help seeing a likeness between them and the Chinese LAO, "old," and LAO, "to toil," "to labour." Accadian dissyllables appear generally as monosyllables in Chinese.

It is evident that all these various meanings of LAL admit of reduction to a few general heads; but that is a process which may be left to the reader to carry out, if he pleases. I regard LAL as an instance of the extension of a root by reduplication = la + la, whence the Assyrian $lal\hat{u}$, $lul\hat{u}$, "abundance." In both Accadian and Chinese the root is preserved in its simplest form LA, which in Accadian means "fullness" or "abundance," and in Chinese "uneven." "piled up," as a heap. The development of the root in Accadian is, as usual, far more restricted than in Chinese.

If now we look back upon the terms with which we started, we shall perhaps see that the Chinese and Accadian words which happened first to excite my curiosity, are really connected in their original forms. The word A-A or AI, "father," appeared to bear some relation to the Chinese vé. The term is honorific, and is used in addressing divinities, officers, noblemen, princes, and gentlemen. Tien lao yé is "the highest god, whoever he may be, the Ruler of the sky" (heaven + old man + father). The old sounds of yé in its various senses are ya, yap, yat, yak. In four of the dialects ya is still spoken; a vocalization which brings the Chinese and Accadian terms closer together. I think it probable that ga was the original term. Now GA (dial. MA) means "to make" (cp. Assyrian bânûya, "my maker" = my father), and Y, A, is defined by banû. As regards A-A or AI, "the moon," Chinese yueh, the old sounds given for the Chinese character are nget and yet. I had decided that Mandarin y stands in place of an ancient g(ng) before ever seeing William's Dictionary, which so strikingly corroborates that opinion. The other dialects support an initial g in this instance, e.g., Swatow gué, Amoy gòat. Now if GUD were the ancient word, we are reminded of the Accadian G'UD, "to be bright"; cp. Cantonese üt. The spirant G' of Accadian points back to an older surd G, which brings us to GUD, GU, "cow"; about the relation of which animal to the moon in mythology I need say nothing.

Our next pair of terms was A, "hand," "side," and yu, "hand." Wells Williams gives the Chinese word as yiu' (Shanghai yu'). A homophone is yiu', "the right hand," "on the right." The old sounds of YIU include ot and at. The Accadian word is written with a character whose syllabic value is IT, ID. Possibly, therefore, the original word was GAD, which gives us the other value of [], su, viz., KAT (GAD), from which springs the Assyrian qâtu, "hand." The last pair were the Accadian A, "son," and yiu, "young,"

"tender." With these we may conveniently take $A = m\hat{u} =$ "water." The Chinese for water is shui; but under the same heading YIU, we find yiu', "hand," yiu', "young," and yiu, "to go on the water," viu as part of the name of several rivers, viu, "water flowing along rapidly," , yiu, "oil," , yiu, "to float," "to swim," "to drift," and , yiu as the name of several plants growing in the water. This seems to show that yiu as well as shui once meant simply "liquid" or "water." Thus we get fair parallels to the Accadian A = "hand," A = "son," and A = "water." What may we suppose were the original forms of A (son) and A (water)? The Chinese for river is ho; and under this heading the old sounds ha, ka, ga, are given. In the dialects we find ho and o, hu and u. The Chifu hwoā suggests an original G. I believe the primitive form to have been GA(D), in the sense of "to flow"; cp. Accadian G'AL, "to flow," and GUR, "to flow," "to run," and GA, "milk" ("that which flows from the breast," GAB; as Assyrian šispu), and ID (G'ID?), "a river"; cp. Hid-dègel. "Water" is a natural and not uncommon metaphor for offspring (cp. Num. xxiv, 7).

The initial h of so many modern Chinese words appears as k in the age of the ancient poetry, as is remarked by Dr. Edkins; and this k often corresponds to an Accadian G.

The syllabary presents us with yet another Accadian ($\mathring{\gamma}$) A, in the sense of "dress," "clothing" ($lub\check{s}u$). The common Chinese term for clothes is i, which is found in all the dialects, and may represent an original a.

Let us now look at the dental T, D. The Accadian for "to hear," "listen," is GIŠ-TÜG (dialectic MÜŠ-TÜG), šêmu, magâru. The Chinese ting, "to hear," "listen" (old sounds, ting and ding), answers to this as kin, "gold," answers to GUŠ-KIN, and as tsiu, "wine," to GEŠ-TIN (din). The nasalisation of the final G is not remarkable, and may have been heard in the Accadian itself.

TIL, dialectic TIN, and TI, are familiar Accadian terms, denoting balâțu, "to live." I did not at once succeed in my endeavour to identify them in Chinese. But when I remembered that TÜ was Accadian for "the wind" (šâru), and that in most languages terms denoting "wind," "breath," and "life" or "spirit," were akin to

each other, I had no difficulty in recognising the Accadian TIN in the Chinese tun, "the breath"; cp. tun, "to swallow" (old sound tun; Amoy tun, tui); tien, "the sky," "the air" (old sound tin, tim, din, din). With Tü, "the wind," cp. tui, "a rapid gust of wind," "a whirlwind." Düb in Accadian is a tablet for writing upon, or a written document (= Assyrian duppu, a loan-word, of course), and Düb-SAR is the scribe who writes such tablets (Assyrian dupsarru, "DDD). The word reveals itself at once in Chinese as tie, "tablets for writing on"; "records of families"; "official despatches," etc.; old sound, dip; the Cantonese tip. With Swatow and Amoy tiap, cp. Tal. JJ. (SAR, šaṭāru, to write" = Chinese sie, "to write.")

In the syllabary the sign \(\bigsigm\), with the sound DUB, is repeated six times, with the Assyyian meanings tuppu, "tablet" (the t is interesting in the light of the Chinese tie, tip); šapâku, "to pour out," "heap up earth," used of raising mounds and earthworks; tabâku, "to pour a libation," "sarâqu, "to empty," șibû, "to dip," and lamû, "to surround" (a city with a wall, or an investing force). It is surely very remarkable that in Chinese we have tié (típ), "a high hillock," tieh, "jutting," "anything above the surface," tié, "to surround with a parapet or breastwork," and, as săpâku is also used of buildings falling into heaps of ruin (iššapik tilâniš!); tić, "to fall down." All these Chinese terms are grouped under TIEH (old sounds, dít, díp, and típ), along with tié, "tablets for writing on." (Cp. Ezek. xxvi, 8; אָבָשָׁ aggessit aggerem, aufschütten; Isa. lvii, 6, effudit libamen; Psalm lxxiii, 2, effusus = lapsus est.) Finally, we have tien, "to sink into," "overwhelmed in," answering to DUB = sibû, "to dip," and tien, "to offer libations," "pour out (a libation"), as equivalent of tabâku, and sarâqu (old sounds tín, tím, dien). For the remaining FIII, pronounced DIG' (DI-IH) = abnu, I will account presently.

I have spoken of TIN, "to live," "life." The well known name of Babylon, TIN-TIR-KI, "Living + seat + place" = abode of life; contains also the element TIR. This is not "wood," GIŠ-TIR, but is defined šubtu (šubat balāṭi); and we may compare tien, "a palace," or if the literal idea of "seat" be insisted upon, tien, a cushion" (for sitting on), tien "a fine bamboo mat"; tun, "a heap," "a block of stone or wood"; "low," "squat," e.g., "low cushions, to sit on." - Cp. also t'un, "to dwell" (old sound, tùn).

 $DI = d\hat{e}nu$ or $d\hat{i}nu$, "judgment," is one of the numerous instances in which it has been supposed to be quite obvious that the Assyrian syllabic value of the ideogram was determined by the Assyrian word. If so, what of the Chinese ti, to judge," "to decide between," which is found in all the dialects, and to which the old sounds té, dé, etc., are assigned? In this, as in former instances, cognate roots supply abundant comparisons. Thus we have tien (old sounds, tin, tim, dien), pronounced at Shanghai tin, din, meaning "a canon," "standard," or "ritual"; a "statute," or "code"; "a law"; "ordinances," etc.; ting, "to decide," "adjust fully, "determine," "arrange," etc. (old sounds, ting, ding). It would seem that the Accadian form was DIN originally, unless we prefer to see in these variants the growth of new stems from the simplest form of the root. Then there is twan (old sounds, twan, dwan), pronounced tün at Canton, and in Chifu tan, "to cut asunder," "divide," "settle," "give a judicial opinion," "a decision." Cp. also to "split wood" (old sounds, ta, tap, da, dap); to, "to mince," "carve," "cut in two" (old sounds, ta, tap, etc.). That verbs of cutting are used of giving legal decisions needs no illustration. It is evident in the term (1 >> , DI-KUD, dânu, "a judge" (? dâ'anu). The second sign in this group, >> , KUD, is defined by dânu, "to judge," and dinu, "judgment," by tamû, "to speak," "pronounce" (a sentence, formula of incantation, or exorcism, etc.), and by parâsu, "to divide," "break," "decide." Read as TAR, it is explained by tarâku—the Assyrian scribes were naturally fond of selecting, where possible, an Assyrian term that, by its assonance with the Accadian, would serve to assist the memory,taráku, "to leave off," "cease," and by šâmu, "to fix," "appoint," "settle," "determine." KUD is literally "to cut off," and answers to Chinese kö (old sound, kat), "to cut in two," and kö, "to examine," "sift thoroughly"; "a law"; cp. Cantonese kot, Amoy gut. K"ö (old sound, k'ak, k'at) "to subdue," overcome"; "exorcise" (demons), "prevail over," etc., and kö, to carve, "cut out," complete our Chinese parallels. $K\ddot{o}$ "to stop," "leave off," and $k\ddot{o}$, "to strike" and "smash," prove, if proof were wanted, that KUD and TAR were really synonyms in the Accadian language. TAR, tarâku, corresponds to Chinese tien, "to terminate," "make to cease," "finish" (old sounds, t'in, t'im, din, dim), t'ing, "to rest," "stop," "hold up"; while TAR, šâmu, "to appoint," "fix," etc., may be compared with tien, "to rule or manage," "to be directed to," "bent on"; tien, "to preserve," "establish," "fixed; "tien, "fixed and settled," as the

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hills and streams; "to set up," "to consolidate" (e.g., an empire). The root thus appears to be the same ultimately as that of $DI = d\hat{a}nu$ (tien, old sounds, tin, tim, dien; vid. supr.); cp. also ting (old sounds, ting, ding) "to order," "firm," "settled"; "to secure"; "to establish; to decide, adjust finally"; "to stop," "to fix," "determine," etc.

The sign > occurs nine successive times in Haupt's Syllabary. We have dealt with six; now for the remaining three. Pronounced SILA, it is explained to denote sûqu, "street"; šalâţu, "to subdue," "overcome," "rule," "act as ruler," e.g., "judge"; and nakâsu, "to cut off." SILA, "to cut off," has its counterparts in sin, "to cut wood" (old sound, sin), si (old sound, sik), "to split wood"; while SILA, šalātu answers to sin, sün, "to investigate," "inquire," h'ün, "to inquire into judicially"; "to direct"; "announce to"; and si, "to distinguish," "discriminate." I suppose a "street" was called SILA, as cutting a town into sections, or dividing the houses. That šalātu meant "to judge," among other things, appears from the rule šaltiš ul itame; "(On the 7th, 14th, 19th, 21st, and 28th days of the month) let not (the king) pronounce a decision as judge"! Thus an ideogram with three distinct Accadian sounds and nine Assyrian definitions has been accounted for by help of the Chinese Dictionary. If this be chance, then chance is another name for order and method and design.

In the Assyrian syllabary we find the character > tim, dim, occurring four times, and defined by dimmu "pillar," riksu, "bond," "cord," markasu, "bond" (metaph.), and rikis qanê, "bond or band of reed." If DIM be a genuine vocable, and not an arbitrary sign, dimmu will probably be a loanword. Now DIM, "prop," "pillar," may be compared at once with tien (old sound, tim), "to steady a thing by putting bricks or other things under it; to shore up; to prop"; "to buttress;" t'ien, "the plinth or base of a pillar"; ting, "to sustain," "secure," "establish"; ting, "(door)-posts"; ting, "a portico," "open roof supported on pillars"; tun (old sounds ton, don), "a square pillar"; "a plinth or base"; tung, "the ridge-pole"; "a main support in a building"; "a leading man in a state, a pillar." But what of DIM, "a bond"? It corresponds to t'an (old sounds dan, dam), "a rattan cord or string for binding"; t'ang (old sounds, t'eng, deng), "to bind," "fasten," as with ropes; "cords"; tae (old sounds, t'o, t'op, t'ok, do, dot, dok), "a plaited sash"; "a band or cord"; t'ao, "to bind up"; "a cord." I shall have occasion to return to this term presently, when I have finished discussing those words in which an Accadian t or d is preserved in Chinese.

We have accounted for TÜ, "the wind"; but Accadian also presents TÜ or TÜ TÜ, eribu, "to go in," "to set" (of the sun); TÜ, summatu, a kind of bird; and TÜ, "a garment," "dress" ([E]). With TÜ, "to go in," TE, "to approach," "nearness," may be connected; for Accadian u and e are closely related vowels, and we find TE="dress," and TE=summatu, as well as TÜ. TÜ, "to go in," appears also in the fuller form TUR (TÜR). The Chinese TIEH (old sounds, dít, díp, típ), pronounced at Canton tít, típ, in Swatow tiat, etc., in Amoy tiat, tiit, etc., furnishes tié, "to fall down," tié, "the sun beginning to decline towards the west"; tié, "to fall, as a hawk from the sky." The Amoy tút almost preserves the old Accadian TUTU intact; cp. also t'an, "to enter" (old sounds dan, dam); ti, "to bend, incline" (old sounds, té, dé).

As to the TU bird or summatu, it is probably not a swallow, but the Chinese tu, the cuckoo, but also the goatsucker or nightjar (see TU, old sounds, to, tot, etc.). The goatsucker, also called chiien. bears another name, indicating the mournful cry which it is fabled to sing all night, till blood comes into its eyes, singing for its mate to hasten home. (Its song in the daytime indicates the time for sowing.) Cp. the phrase of the Accadian penitential hymns: kima TU.G'U (summati) adammum, "like the Tu bird I mourn." Tü, "clothes," which also appears in the earlier form Tük, is of the same origin as TÜK, "to take," "to have" (TUKU=išû, ahâzu). It is defined by the Assyrian subâtu, "clothes," which springs from sabâtu, "to take." Cp. Chinese "teu, "to lift up," "get hold of," "seize" (old sounds, tu, du, dúk). There is also TI, "to take," an abbreviation of TIG (dialetic TIM); cp. TÜM, "to carry off." Now under the heading TOH (old sounds, tat, dak, dat), the Chinese lexicon ranges to, "to take up with both hands," to, "to take by force," "get by striving, or anyhow," to, "to carry off," toh, "to seize," "rob"; to, "to mend clothes"; to, "to let down, drop," e.g., a line into a well; to, a small bird whose cry is ti-ti; to, "a species of water-bird like the rail." The Chinese TAO (old sounds, to, do, tot, dok), gives tao, "to arrive at," "reach"; cp. Accadian $TE = dah\hat{u}$, aggredi, which also recalls ti (té), "to butt," "to push," "to reach," "arrive at." With TÜ, "clothes," we may further compare ta, "a wrapper" (for the person), (old sounds, tat, tap, etc.), ta, "to cover,"

t'a, "a coat of skin or fur"; t'a, "a kind of coarse woollen serge"; tai (old sounds, ta,da, tat, dat, tak, dak), "to wear"; "to cover"; tai, "a sash," "girdle," "belt"; tan, "a shirt" (old sounds, tan, dam, tam); t'an, "rugs"; "serge"; tao, "the canopy of heaven"; "curtain," "vail" (old sound, dok); ten (old sound tu), "a helmet"; t'un, Amoy tun, "to disrobe," "undress"; t'o, "to undress"; "a suit," of clothes (old sounds, t'ak, t'at), Cantonese, t'ok and t'ūt.

ACCADIAN.

(GIŠ-) TUG, "to hear."
TIL, TIN, TI, "to live," "life."

TU, "the wind."
DUB, "tablet," "document."

DUB, "to pour out," "heap up" (earth)

DUB, "to pour libations."

рив, " to dip."

DUB, "to surround."

DI, "judgment."

TIM, "to cut."

TAR, "to leave off."

TAR, "to appoint," "fix," etc.

CHINESE.

t'ing, "to hear."

t'un, "the breath."

t'ien, "the air."

t'ui, "a gust," "whirlwind."

tié (old sounds, típ, díp), "tablet," "records," etc.

tu (old sounds, tot, tok, dot, dok), "boards or tablets anciently used for writing on"; "documents," "archives," etc.

tié, "a hillock."

tien, "to pour libations."

tien, "to sink into."

tié, "to surround" (with a para-

pet, etc.).

ti, "to judge."

tien, " a law."

ting, "to decide."

iwan, "to cut asunder," "a

decision."

to, "to cut in twain."

t'o, "to split wood."

t'ien, " to terminate," "finish."

t'ing, " to rest," "stop."

tien, "to establish," "fixed

and settled."

ting, "to order, establish, determine," etc.

ACCADIAN.

DIM, "prop," "pillar."

DIM, "a bond," "band," "cord."

EDIN, "plain," "field."
TU, "to go in," "to set."

ти, (a bird). ти, тик, "clothes."

тик, "to take," "to have," "to seize."

ті, тіс (тім), "to take."

тим, "to carry off."

те, "to approach" (dalyū), ппл.

TAB, "two," "companion,"
"fellow."
DIR, "dark," "bluish" (?)
DAR, "dark-coloured."
TUR, "small."

CHINESE.

tun, "a square pillar." tung, "the ridge-pole," "a pillar (of state)." tien (old sound, tin), "to prop," "buttress." tien, "base of a pillar." ting, "to sustain." ting, "doorposts." t'ing, "a pillared porch." t'an, "a rattan cord." t'ang, "to bind," "cords." tao, "a band," "cord." t'ao, "to bind up," "a cord." t'ien, "field (din). tié, "to fall," "the setting sun." t'an, "to enter"; ti, "to bend," "incline." tu, "the cuckoo," and "nightjar."

ta, "the cuckoo," and "nightjar."
ta, "wrapper"; ta, "to cover."
t'a, "coat of skin or fur."
t'a, "serge."
tan, "shirt."
t'un, t'o, "to undress."
teu, "a helmet."

teu (old sound, dúk), "lift up," "seize."

to, "take by force, "carry of." toh, "to seize."

ti (old sound, té), "to butt," "reach," "arrive at."

t'a (old sound, t'ap), "that,"
"the other," "another," alter.
tien, "indigo," or any blue dye.
tien, "a black spot."
til (til) "a little" "diminutive."

tih (tik), "a little," "diminutive."
ti, "a very little" (a drop).

ACCADIAN.

TIL, "to kill," "to finish," "complete."

TAG, "destroy," "ruin."

TUR, "sick," "ill."
TAB, "to add to" (vid. supr.).

DUK, "a cup," "vessel."

(Also LUT, id.).

EYYA determinative of vessels.

CHINESE.

t'ien, "to finish," "to make to cease," "exterminate," "destroy."

tien, "to fall," "to die."

tien, "to fill up," "complete," "full," "ample."

to (old sound, tap), "to fall into ruin."

tien, "to knock a thing to pieces." ting, "to smash," "throw down." tien, "crazed," "deranged."

to (old sounds, ta, tap), "more," "to add."

t'ien (old sounds, t'úm, dím), "to add," "increase."

teu (old sound, dúk), "wooden trencher," "sacrificial dish"; teu, "sacrificial vessel that holds the meat."

liu (old sounds, lút, lok), "a beggar's clapdish."

lu (old sounds, lu, lut), "a vessel" (fire-pan, censer, brazier, jar, jug).

D, Z, Š.

Dr. Wells Williams observes that initial ch, ch', and ts, ts', "are interchanged so much and so irregularly all over the country, that it is impossible to follow their variations. As one goes north, they mingle in a greater or less degree, and many natives cannot tell them apart. At Swatow and Amoy ts is heard doubtfully only before a, o, and u; but on reaching Fuhchau it is altogether merged in ch."

Owing to the great differentiation of the root-stuff in modern Chinese, it will be found that many of the words beginning with t or d, already considered, have doubles with initial ch. Thus the Accadian DIM, "pillar," for which we have pointed out a number of Chinese cognates such as tun, tien, etc., also corresponds to chu "a pillar " "post," "joist"; "a statesman" (metaph.). Under сни, as usual, the Chinese lexicon groups a great number of vocables with the most diverse and apparently unconnected meanings. The old sounds given are té, tu, tot, dé, du, djot, vo, and tot. In Shanghai the sounds are tsö, tsü, dzö, tssu, etc. Now chu, "a trunk," "bole" of trees, is used as a general determinative of trees and similar objects; thus answering to Accadian GI-š (dialectic DI-š), which is the determinative of trees and wooden objects. (One seems to see a reason why Y GIS = zikaru, "male." It recalls the straight branchless pole or trunk which symbolized the Asherah.) I have already mentioned that *muh* (muk), "wood" answers to the dialectic Accadian MU (mug?), "wood." Accadian UDU, "lamb," is like *chu*, "a lamb five months old "(du); cp. ta (old sounds, tat, dat), "a newborn lamb." Chu, "to make judicial inquiry," "to punish capitally," and chu, "to discriminate," "distinguish," answer to Accadian DI, "to judge."

Then we have *chu*, "a stone tablet," *cp*. t'i, "an inscription" (dai, dat); tié (díp), "tablets, records"; t'ié (t'ip), "written scrolls," *cha* (old sounds, tat, tap, dap), "a thin wooden tablet," "writings," "documents." *Chih* (old sounds, tip, tit, tik, díp, and dít), "to apprehend, seize," "lay hold of," etc., answers to Accadian DIB, "to seize," "take"; Amoy *chip*. DIB is also "to take the road," "to come," and *chih* is "to proceed," "to go up," and "to go on." *Chih* is also "to record events"; *cp*. DIB; and *chih* means "to tie up or tether"; "a cord"; *cp*. DIM. *Chih* is a book-wrapper, and a bag used like an envelope; *cp*. DIM in DIMMENNA = *tômennu*. In Accadian we have DU, *ašábu*, "to dwell," DU, *šubtu*, "dwelling," DU, *tilu*, "a mound," DUL, *katâmu*, "to cover," "hide," all written

(i), and DUR, "to dwell"; in Chinese, chu, "to dwell," "to live in"; chu, "to stop," "sojourn," "a halting-place," "hostelry" (old sounds, té, tu, dé, du); t'un, "to hide" (old sound, tùn); tu, "to close," "shut"; tui, "a mound" (old sounds, tui, tut, dui, dut); tien (old sound, tin), "top," "summit"; t'ien, "heaven" (heave). The Accadian TUM (DUM), DU, "to go," "walk," answer to t'u, "a footman"; pedes; "to go afoot" (old sound, do); in Shanghai, tu and du; but also to ch'o (old sound, t'ok), "to walk fast"; ch'o, "to stamp"; chih, "to proceed"; chih, "the sole of the foot"; chih, "to tread"; chu, "to walk sedately (dok); chui, "to follow" (old sounds, ti, tui, tut, etc.). The Accadian GIR, "foot" and "step," may be related, through the known interchange of G and D in that language. Du, "to make, build," and Du, "to make bricks," may be compared with chu (old sounds, tok, dok), in Shanghai tsòk and dzòk, Swatow tek, etc., Fuhchau tùük, tük, "to build"; מבה, "to beget," "to make" (banû, בבה, "to build"), and DU, DUMU, "child," are cognate; cp. ch'u "to spring from," and "to beget" (old sounds, t'ot, t'uk, implying DUG); ch'u, "to rear," "to breed"; ch'an, "to produce," "breed," "bear" (old sounds, dam, shan, tsim); chăn (old sounds, tín, tím, dím), "to mould," "fashion," "make like." With TÊ, "to approach," attack," cp. chu, ch'u, "to butt," "run against," "oppose" (TUT, TUK). Duc, "a command," and "to speak," is chu, "to bid," "order" (old sounds, tok, dok); chui, "talk" (tui, tut, dut); chan, "to talk and gabble" (old sounds, tam, dam). Tu, "the wind," answers to ch'ui, "to blow," "puff," "a puff," "blast," "gust" (old sounds, t'i, t'ui, t'ut, di, etc.).

Dugud (dialectic gid, gidda), "heavy," is chung (old sounds, tong, dong, presupposing dug); in Amoy, tiong, Shanghai, tsung. Chung is also "rectitude," "sincerity," "goodness," and dug is "good." With dugud, in the sense of "mighty," ch. ch'ung (dong, dzong), "high," "noble," "to reverence." Chung, "a cup," goes back to Accadian duk, "vessel," "cup"; chwang (old sound, dung), "strong," to Accadian dun, dan. Di, dim (dê, dêm), "to irrigate," "irrigation," answer to ch'ih, "to drink"; chan (old sounds, tam, dam), Chifu, tsan, "to immerse," "to steep," "to moisten"; chan, "to dip" (cp. dub); chăn (dim), "to pour," "empty out." (The term also means "to deliberate," "adjust" = Accadian di, and "to twist a cord around," "to bind" = Accadian dim.) Chăn, "a likeness" or "portrait," and chăn, "to make like," recall Accadian dim, "like," "as," which is related to dim, banû. The

Accadian DI (DIN), "judgment," may further be compared with ch'an (old sound, dín), "to arrange," set in regular order." DAGAL (dialectic DAMAL), "broad," "wide," "to extend," etc., is a compound of DA, "broad," and GAL (MAL), pitû, "to open." We see DA in cha (old sounds, ta, da), "to open out," "stretch open"; cha, "to widen out, "expand," and other terms. With GAL cp. yao, "extensive," as a plain; yao, "boundless," like the ocean.

So far Accadian D = Chinese ch. Let us now look at z. The syllabary gives six occurences of - 17 to, zid, zi, with the definitions imnu, "right hand," "right," "straight"; kênu, "right," "fixed," "lawful," "just," etc.; zigga, tebû, "to come on," "approach," "attack"; nasâhu, "to pluck up," "rend away," "depart" (חסב); napištu, "life," and niššu, "spirit." The term zi, "life," was pronounced shi in the other dialect of the Accadian; and this being the fact, what could be more striking than that shi means "life" in Chinese? Nothing, except perhaps the fact that another shi is "to go to," "approach"; another is "to depart"; another means "direct," "straight"; another "right," "proper." Yet another shi means "to swear," "adjure," which recalls the wellknown formula of the magical tablets, ZI ANNA GE-PAD-EŠ, ZI KIA GE-PAD-Eš. We also have zi, šaqû, "leader," and zi, našû, "to lift up." These terms have their fellows in shi, "a leader," "a general," shi, "an officer," and shi, "to set up" (poles or trees, a flagstaff, etc.), "erect," "lofty." In the same place we have TIG, with the definition ilu ša naphari, "God of the universe," cp. Chinese ti, "a god," and perhaps Shang-ti, "the Supreme ruler." This Chinese shi had the old sounds shai, shi, zhi (Accadian zı), shik, shit, zhit (cp. Accadian ZIT, ZID), and zhík (cp. Accadian zigga). In the dialects ch'i is heard as well as shi. But, further, under the heading SHI, the first two Chinese terms are shi, "a corpse," and shi, "a carcase." Does anything correspond in the Accadian? It would seem so, for we have su-zi = šalummatum, "body," "corpse" (su means "body," "skin," and "flesh"). May not DUMUZI, "Tammuz," be "the slain or dead son," rather than "son of life"? The Chinese sz', or as Professor Douglas writes it, ssu, "to die," "death" (old sounds, si, sei, sai, zi, etc.), is similar. The contrary meanings of shi, "life," and "a corpse," may remind us that in ancient Egypt the dead were par excellence "the living." (Cp. also shan, old sounds, shim, shin, zhím, "the trunk," "body"; shăn, "the powers above," "the gods," "a spirit," "the human spirit," "ancestral spirits.") In Accadian we

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have also shum, tabâhu, "to slaughter"; cp. Chinese shu, "to kill" (old sounds, sho, zho, shiu), and shali, "to cut off"; cp. Chinese shah, "to slay" (old sounds, shat, shap). The Accadian shu = kiššatu, "multitude" = Chinese shu, "a multitude," "all," "the whole," "a great number" (shud?) Under the same head we have shu, "open," "wide apart"; "distant in space or time," etc. = Accadian shud, "distant"; shu, "to overturn" = Accadian, shu, "to throw to the ground" (cp. shu, "to slaughter," "exterminate); shu, "to pour out," "sprinkle" (= Accadian shib); shu, "millet" = Accadian she, "grain"; shu, "bright," "the light of the rising sun," "clear" = sha, shaga, "pure," "purified"; and shu, "benevolent," "benignant" = sha, shaga, "favour," "grace."

The Accadian shur (dialectic shir, shêr), "to cry aloud," "an outcry," recalls *shăng* (old sound, shing, *i.e.*, shig?), "a sound," "a cry," "a wail."

Shit, "a number," "to count" = $sh\ddot{o}$, "to count" (given under sheh, old sounds, shet, zhet, ship, and shak), used of divination by straws.

SHEG, "to rain," "rain"; cp. shah (old sound, shap), "a slight shower," "a passing rain"; sha, sa (old sound, shak), "to sprinkle," "wet" with rain, "rain"; shan, "a slight rain"; shao (shok), "water driven by the wind," "to sprinkle." SHIB, SHUB, "to sprinkle," are clearly related words.

Sheu (old sounds, shu, shut, zhu, and shuk), gives us sheu, "to receive," and sheu, "the arm," "the hand"; ср. Accadian shu, "the hand," "might"; also sheu, "the head," "a chief, a leader"; cp. ši-Lig, "leader" (lih, old sound, lik, Cantonese lik, means "strength"; cp. Accadian Lig, "strong"). With sheu, "the head," cp. also ZAG, rêšu, "head." Shan, "mountain," "height" (old sound, shan), seems to answer to G'AR-SAG, "mountain"; cp. Amoy, san, Fuhchau, sang, Chifu, san. Shang, "top," "above," "heaven" (old sound, zhung), may be compared with zag, sag, "head"; cp. the Swatow, siang, Amoy, siong. Shih, "a stone," "hard" (old sound, ship, shek, etc.), Recalls sheg and sheb, "brick," which sometimes has "stone" as a determinative before it, and za, "stone," and DIG (abnu), "a stone." One of the commonest of Accadian roots is zu, "to know," "knowledge," "wisdom," of which an older form is za. Zu is explained by idû and lamâdu, "to see" (mentally), "to know" (in pael, uddû, "to let see," "show"), and "to learn." It corresponds to shi, "to

see," "inspect," "observe," "to cause to be seen," "display"; and shi, "to show," make known the will of heaven," "to proclaim," "a revelation," "prognostic," "sign," etc. (cp. () shi (?), "eye," "eye-witness"), shi, "to teach," and shi, "to learn." We have already found words answering to Accadian zi, "life," etc., under the same head. The common Chinese term for "to know," "to perceive" (also "to tell," "inform") is chi (old sounds, tai dai, ti), pronounced in Swatow as ti, but at Shanghai as tsz'. This implies a dialectic Accadian term related to zu, as DUG to ZIB. Now we actually have Dug, "to speak," answering to chi, "to tell." The term AB-ZU, older form ZU-AB, Assyrianized as apsû, and meaning "ocean," is probably not "house of wisdom," but "house of water," + Chinese shui "water" (old sound, zhui); cp. shun, ch'un, (old sounds, zhon, shon, don, zhun, dun), "to cleanse," "wash," "sprinkle"; Accadian shun, "to wash"; † shwan, old sound, shon, "to wash," "rinse"; shwan, "to scour and wash out"; and šeš, "to purify." šukkal, "high servant," "messenger," may be compared with shi, "to command," "to send," "service"; shi, "following," as an attendant (old sound, shik). KAL is "exalted," "mighty," Chinese kao, "high."

The sign [which is the ideogram for "fire," has the values $n\hat{e}$, $d\hat{e}$, pi, pii, kum, zah, izi, gibil. Of these izi is elsewhere defined by $i\bar{s}atu$, "fire," and $p\hat{e}ntu$, "fire of charcoal"; ep. shan (old sounds, shin, shim, zhim) "a brazier"; shao "to burn," "ignite," "light," "to roast" (= shal = zal = $nam\hat{a}ru$, "to be bright"); shan, "to make a blaze," "a blaze" (old sounds, shen, zhen); shan, "glittering," "flashing,"; shan, "to blow a fire and make it burn brighter," "to blaze up," "bright," "clear"; shan, "the brightness of the sun," "light" (old sounds, shing, zhing); shan, "wise, holy, sacred" = shig, damqu, nummuru, "bright," "pure," "holy," "to make bright" ($\{Y \vdash x \}\}$); sho (old sound, shak) "bright," "to shine," to "embellish" (shig = munammir); sho, "to melt a metal" (ep. Dug-Dugga-bi = muballilsunu, "their melter"); shun (zhon, shon, don, zhun, dun), "bright, fiery," "blazing," "the colour

^{*} Like A-ABA, "water-house," another Accadian designation of the ocean. ABA, "grandfather," "old man" is identical with old Chinese ba (modern fu), and AMA, "mother," with old Chinese ma (modern mu). The old sounds of the Chinese are given here and everywhere on the authority of Dr Edkins.

[†] The Chinese SHUNG is "to rush on," in battle; A. Accadian SHUN, "to fight."

or glory of fire"; shwang (shung), "to admit the light," "sunny." All these terms appear to be cognates of IZI, ZA in ZABAR, "bright," ZAL, ZAG' (?), on the one hand, and of SHIG (SHEG), and DUG, "to melt," on the other. Dê, "fire" (cp. DI, namâru, "to shine"; DI-NIG = kûru, "a furnace"), seems to be a dialectic form of GI, which we see in GIBIL or BILGI, "the fire-god," and in GI = galû, "to burn," "roast." PIL or BIL corresponds to the Chinese series pao (old sounds, po, bo), "to heat," "boil"; pao, "a scorching heat"; pao, "to burn," "scorch," "hot," "crackling" (of fire); p'ao, "to roast," "fry"; p'ao, "to bake in the ashes"; p'ang (old sounds, p'eng, băng), "to boil"; péi (in some dialects pi), "to dry over a fire"; ping, "bright like fire"; "to burn." With DI, Dê, ch'ang (old sounds, t'ung, dung), "the light of the sun,"; "bright," "prosperous," is distantly connected. (Nê is, I think, a weakened sound of GI, Gê (ngê), and KUM, an Assyrian value.)

ACCADIAN.

DIM, "pillar."
DI-š (?), "wood."

udu, "lamb." ы, "to judge."

DUB, "a tablet."
DIB, "to seize."
DIB, "take the road," "come."
DUB, "record."
DIM, "a cord," "to bind."
DIM, "to compress," "confine,"
"distress."
DU, "to dwell."
DIM (= GIN), DU, "to go," "to walk."

DUM, DU, "to go," "to walk."

DU, "to make," "build."
DU, "to make bricks."

CHINESE.

chu, "pillar."

chu, determinative of wooden objects.

chu, "a lamb."

chu, "to make judicial inquiry."

chu, "to discriminate."

chu, "stone tablet."

chih (chip), "to seize."

chih, "proceed."

chih, "to record events."

chih, "to tie up," "a cord."

ch'iu, "to urge," "constrain"

(see tsiu).

chu, "to dwell."

ch'o "to walk fast."

chih, "to proceed."
ch'o, "to stamp."
chih, "sole."
chih, "to tread."
chu, "to walk sedately."
chui, "to follow."
chu, "to build."

ACCADIAN.

DIM, "to beget," "to make." DU, DUMU, "child." DIM, "like."

TE, "to approach," "attack."

DUG, "a command," "to speak."

TU, "the wind."
DU-GUD, "heavy."
DUG, "good."
DUK, "a cup."
DUN, DAN, "strong."
DIM, DI, "to water land."
"give to drink."
DUB, "to dip."

DI, "to judge."
DIM, "to bind."
DIM, "like."

D(IN), "judgment." DA. GAL, "broad," "wide." (GAL, pitû). DUG, "to melt" (metals). MU-TIN, "bird." zı (dial., sні) "life." zig, "approach," "attack." zig, "remove," "depart." zid, "right." ZID, "fixed," "righteous." zı, "a spirit." zı, "a leader." zī, "to lift up." (su)zı, "body." zag, sag, "head." (G'AR) SAG, "mountain." za, "a stone" (DIG).

CHINESE.

ch'u, "to beget, "rear," "breed." ch'an, "to produce," "bear." chăn (dim) "to mould," "fashion," "make like" chu, ch'u, "to butt," "run against," "oppose." chu, "to bid," "order." chui, "to talk." chan, "gabble." ch'ui, "to blow," "a blast." chung, "heavy." chung, "goodness." chung, "a cup." chwang, "strong." ch'ih, "to drink." chan, "to immerse." chan, "to dip." chăn (dím), "to pour out." chăn, "to deliberate." chăn, "to bind." chăn, "to make like," "a likech'ăn (din), "to arrange." cha, "open out," "expand." (yao, "extensive," "boundless"). chu, "to cast, fuse metal." chui (old sound, tui), "birds." shi, "life." shi, "approach." shi, "depart." shi, "direct," "straight." shi, "right," "proper." shé, "local gods." shi, "a leader." shi, "to set up," "lofty." shi, "corpse," "carcase." sheu, "head." shan, "mountain." shih, "a stone."

ACCADIAN.

ZA, ZU, "to see," "know."

"to learn," "knowledge."

ZU-AB, "water-house," "ocean."

IZI, "fire," ZAG', "fire" (?).

ZA-BAR, "bright."

ZAL, "to shine," "glitter."

CHINESE.

shi, "to see," "make known."
shi, "to teach," "to learn."
shui, "water."
shān (shín), "a brazier."
shan, "a blaze," etc.
shao, "to burn," "kindle."

sh (š) appears to be original in the following:—

SHUM, "to slaughter." SHAB, "to cut off." SHU, "a multitude."

SHUD, "distant."
SHU, "to throw down."

SHUB, "to pour out."

SHIB, "to sprinkle."

SHÊ, "grain."

SHUR(SHIR) "cry aloud," "outcry."

SHITI, "a number"; "to count."

SHEG, "to rain"; "rain."

SHU, "the hand," "might."
SHAG, "head."
SHUN, "to wash."
SHUN, "to fight."
SHIG, "bright," "pure," "holy,"
"to brighten."

SHUK(KAL), "high messenger," or "servant."

shu, "to kill."
shah, "to slay."
shu, "a multitude"; "the whole";
shi, "the people"; "multitudes";
"a legion"; "troops."
shu, "distant."
shu, "to overturn"; shu, "to
exterminate."
shu, "to pour out."

shu, "millet." shăng (shing), "a cry," "a wail." sheh (shet), "to count." sha (shak), "to sprinkle"; "wet"; "rain." shao (shok), "to sprinkle." shah (shap), "a shower." shan, "a slight rain." sheu, "hand," "strength of hand." sheu, "the head." shun, "to wash"; shwan, "wash." shung, "to rush on"; "batter." sho (shak), "bright," "to shine," and "make shine." shang (shing), "brightness of the sun," "wise and holy." shi (shik), "follower." shi, "to command," "send," "service."

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T, D, = TS, TS'

ACCADIAN.

DU, "child."

DA, "side."

DU, "seat," "to sit."

Aš-TE or TI, "chair," "throne"; TE, "to rest."

DUB (?) = GUB, "left-hand."

DUE, "destroy."

DAM, "wife," "consort."

DUL, "to cover" (e.g., the head, in grief).

ADA, "father."

TUM, "walk," "go."

(GEŠ)-DIN, "wine," GAŠ-DIN (tsiu, "wine" (old sounds, tsiu, DIN, "wine."

CHINESE.

tsz' (tsi?), anciently "child," now "son" (tzŭ).

tsa (tsap), "side"; Swatow, chap, Fuhchau, chak.

tso, "to sit," "a seat" (old sounds, tsa, dza), Swatow, cho, Shanghai, tsu, zu.

tso, "left-hand" (tsap).

tsien, "to destroy."

ts'i, "a wife, consort" (Swatow, ch'i, Amoy, ch'é).

ts'i, "sad," "grieved."

tsu (old sound, tso = tsa), "a grandfather," "progenitor."

tsu, "to advance," "go to," "travel"; ts'ao, "reach," "go to"; t'su, " to run," "walk quickly."

dziu); Swatow, etc., chiu.

Tsiu is really fermented or distilled liquor, chiefly the latter, and includes spirits, beer, and other drinks. It is always written with the determinative yu, "new wine," "strong drink," a term equivalent to the Accadian GES, GAS, "strong drink" (the dropping of the s is normal in Accadian). In Accadian DIN, "wine," sometimes appears without the generic prefix GES. The identification of both words in Chinese proves that GEŠTIN (GEŠDIN) does not mean "tree of life" nor "drink of life," as has been supposed by many, and confirms Jensen's conjecture that GES- is only a "Klassenpraefix."

DUB, "tablet."

tsai (tsap), "to record," "recorded"; tsien, "a tablet or slip"; tsi (tsip), "record book."

DUB, umgeben, "to surround."

tsa (tsap), "to go round"; ts'ien, "fence," "moat."

ACCADIAN.

TAB, "a companion," "to add."
TAB, "two," "second."
DAG', "to add," hinzufügen.

DIM, "like."

DIM, DU, DA, DIB, "to make," "build," "create."

DIM, "a cord," "band."

DUG, "good."

DUK, "a vessel."

DUL, "to cover."

DIB, "to seize"; TI, TIM, "to take."

DAM, "a wife"; cp. DIB, "to take." DIM, einengen, bedrängen.

DUК, "а сир," "jug."

MU-TIN (= MU-ŠEN), "a bird."

DI, "to shine," DÊ, "fire," DAL, "to be bright."

DAR, "black."

CHINESE.

tso, "second to," "an assistant,"
"to assist."

tsăng (tseng), "to add to," "to double."

tsu, "to do like."

tsao, "to make, build, create" (tso, tsok, tsop).

tsu, "a band, fillet," "cord."

tsang, "good," "genercus," "dexterous" (tsong); Swatow, chang. tsu, "a basin or bowl" (sacri-

ficial), "cup."

ts'ang, "to hide away," "conceal" (tsong).

ts'ii (old sounds, ts'u, ts'ut), "to lay hold on," "seize"; Swatow, ch'u; cp. chih: ts'ao, "to take" (tsop), tsié (tsíp), "to take."

ts'ü, "to take a wife."

ts'an, "to injure," "oppress" (old sounds, ts'am, dzam), tseh, "to oppress," ts'iang, id. tsiu, "to clutch, grasp, gripe."

tsioh and chiié, "a cup for libations," "a wine bottle"; dialects, chiak, chiok, etc. (old sound, tsiak).

ts'ioh, tsiao, "a bird," "small birds" (see chui).

tsao, "a furnace," "place for cooking"; tsiao, "scorched," "burnt," "to scorch," "char"; tsien (tsín), "to fry"; tsin, "embers"; tsün, "a fire burning."

tsao, "a black or very dark grey colour."

On the other hand, ts, ts', sometimes represent Accadian z:

ACCADIAN

(GIŠ) GU-ZA, "a throne."

ZA, ZI, "stone" (cp. DIG).

(NA) ZAGIN, a white stone of some kind.*

ZAGIN, ibbu, "bright white."

ZAL, "to shine," UDDA-ZALLA, "day-dawn."

zı, "a spirit."

AZAG, "bright," "to glitter,"
"silver."

AZAZ, "sickness." uzu, "flesh." CHINESE.

tso, "a raised seat," "a throne," "daïs."

ts'o (old sounds, ts'a, ts'ap), "broken stones," "rubbish of rocks"; tsü, "rocks thinly covered with earth"; tsi (tsik, tsip), "rocks under water."

ts'o, "a stone of a brilliant white colour, like fine milky quartz"; "white," candidus (of teeth; a state robe).

tsioh, "a pure white" (old sound, tsiak); Canton, tséuk; Shanghai, tsièk, zièk.

tsing, "brightness," "clear,"
"pure"; "semi-transparent
stones, quartz, fluor spar," etc.
tsao, "a stone like a gem"; "a
whitish colour" (tso, tsok).

tsao, "the early morning" (cp.

tsing, "a wraith."

ts'ing, "pure," "clear"; tsang,
id., "to purify," "wash"

tsu (tsok), "pure, as unalloyed silver."

tsi, (tsik) "sickness." ts'eu (dzu) "flesh."

(GIS) GU-ZA, literally "splendid seat." GU is "bright"; CP. EX CP = DUMU-GU. But ZA = "bright," in ZAL, ZABAR, AZAG, ZABAR, ZAG, izi, "fire," seems to point to an older AZA, and ZA, ZU, "to see," "to know," may be offshoots of the same root (CP). CP0 = CP1 with CP2 maâru, "to shine"). The Chinese CP3 for CP4 and CP5 CP6 and CP9 are the parameter of CP9. The Chinese CP9 for CP9 and CP9 are the parameter of CP9 for CP9 for CP9 and CP9 for CP9 fo

^{*} Stones like opal, cornelian, agate, onyx, jasper, etc., distinguished from similar quartzose minerals by their veinings and colours, are called *nao* (old sound *no*).

B, P.

The Mandarin dialect has dispensed with the ancient B altogether, replacing it by P at the beginning of words. Initial B is, however, preserved in certain cases enumerated by the old lexicographers as ancient sounds of the characters; as also in the dialects, to a certain extent.

One of the first words that meet us in the Accadian syllabary is Ye, BAL. This term has a great variety of meanings assigned to it by the Assyrian scribes; and it struck me that it might very well be taken as a test-term for my theory of the relation of the language to the Chinese.

The following list comprises most of the definitions (see Brünnow, s. v.):

ACCADIAN.

1. BAL, *napalkûtum*, "to rebel," "disobey," "transgress orders."

- 2. BAL, *etêqu*, "to move on, advance, march."
- 3. BAL, *ebêru*, "to cross," "go from one side to the other."

4. BAL, *šupilu ša zinništi*, pars infima feminæ, vulva; *šapiltum* = BAL - KI, "low ground."

CHINESE.

- péi, "the back," "turn the back on," "be proved false," "to resist," "contumacious," "discard" (treaty obligations); péi, "to rebel," "oppose authority," "perverse"; pan, "to resist"; p'an, "to rebel," "revolt."
- p'ao, "to travel," "to go or walk," "journey"; ρέι, "to journey."
- p'o, "a bank," "a side" (of river, or road); "cp. abarti, "bank"; pin, "bank of a stream"; p'in, "urgent, like one waiting at a ford." See note; pan, "to remove from one place to another," "transport."
- pao, "placenta," "uterine"; p'i, vagina, vulva; p'in, vulva of animals; "a royal concubine"; p'ei, "low" in stature, or height (of buildings), "base," "low"; p'ih, "base," "mean"; p'in, "poor."

^{*} The Chinese character includes the sign for ford.

ACCADIAN.

- 5. BAL, nakâru, "to be other, different, alien, altered, alienated," "hostile"; pael, "to alter"; KI-BAL, "the enemy's country."
- 6. BAL, ênû, "to change," "alter," for the worse; cp. nakûru.

 Perhaps rather "to throw down"; and metaph. "cast off," "reject," or "dishonour" (cp, 4).
- 7. BAL, palû, "reign."
- 8. BAL, dabâbu, "to spread an evil report," "speak against."
- 9. BAL, *tamû*, "to speak," "to swear" (*cp*. PAD, PA).
- 10. BAL, *turgumannu*, "an interpreter."
- 11. BAL, *hirû*, "to dig" (a trench, canal, etc.).
- 12. BAL, naqâru, "to dig out," "grub up" (בָּבַרְרַ), "destroy" (walls and buildings).

CHINESE.

pao puh p'ing, "ready for a quarrel"; pao, "to revenge oneself on an enemy"; pao, "passionate"; p'ao, "to strike," "chastise"; p'iao, "to strike, pierce, stab," "cut off"; pien, "dispute," "quarrel about"; ping, "soldier," "troops," "weapons," "to fight."

p'ao, "throw down," "reject"; péi, "discard"; pien, "to transform," "to change."

pao tso, "the throne"; tăng ta pao, "to ascend the throne"; p'ai, "rank," "place," "appoint to a post"; pai, "to honour," "kneel to," "appoint to an office;" pa, "to elevate."

pao, "to state," "inform," "tell,"
"report," "reporter"; pao, "to
cry out" for pain, "to bawl."
piao, "to speak of," "discuss"

(in narrative); po, "to proclaim abroad," "tell foolish rumours."

pao, "to bring to light," "discover"; p'o, "to lay bare," "solve," "explain" the sense of a passage; pan, "to make known."

pao, "to dig" (a trench).

pao, "to grub up"; p'iao, "knock down," "fall"; pa, "pull up," "eradicate," "take by storm"; p'i, "destroyed," "tumbled down, as a ruined wall"; pai, "to subvert," "destroy."

ACCADIAN.

13. BAL, dalû, "to draw water."

14. BAL, šaqû, "to irrigate."

15. BAL, pilakku, "an ax."

16. BAL, pilakku, "a spindle."17. BAL, uṣṣatu, "trouble," "vexation" (uṣṣat libbišu).

18. BAL, naqû, "to pour a libation."

19. BAL, tabâku, "to pour out."

CHINESE.

p'ao, "a calabash, or gourd (as a drinking cup)"; a vessel so shaped; p'ao, "a bubble," "rushing water," "to soak, rinse, dip"; pao, "a waterfall" (see 18, 19); p'eu, "to take up in both hands, as when drinking water from them."

piao, "water flowing"; po, "a stream"; p'ei, "to irrigate, dam up water for irrigation," "to run, to flow."

pao, "a plane"; p'ao, "to cut";
p'ei, "handle of an ax"; p'i,
 "to split"; "to trim with an
 ax"; p'o, "a sickle"; păn,
 "an adze."

p'ao, "to throw the shuttle."
pao, "to feel, have in the heart";
p'ei, "grief," "sadness."

p'oh, "to throw water down,"
"bespatter," "to drip"; po,
"to flow along," "a stream."

piao, "water flowing"; pih, "to strain off," "pour out"; pih, pich, "empty," "dried up."

It is to be understood that not all the Chinese cognates are given in each case. With BAL, "to rebel," we might also compare poh, "to mislead by fair speeches," "to stir up rebellion by seducing talk," "obstinate," disorderly," "perverse"; and so in other instances. The truth is that the development of the root in Chinese is far more elaborate than in Accadian, as will be seen from the following, which presents at a glance all the secondary roots or outgrowths springing from the primary PA:—

PA (old sounds, pa, pak, pat). P'A (p'a pát, p'ak, ba, bat). PAH (old sounds, pat, bat). PAI (pa, pat, ba, bat). P'AI (ba, bat, p'a, p'at). PAN (pan and ban). P'AN, (p'an, ban). PĂN (pen, ben). P'ĂN (ben p'en). PANG (pong, bong). P'ANG (p'ong, bong, p'an). PĂNG (păng, pang, beng, băng). P'ĂNG (p'eng, p'ang, băng, băm). PAO (po, p'o, pok, bo, bok, p'ot). P'AO (p'o, p'ot, p'ok, bo, bot, bok). PÉI and PI often run into each other (péi, pai, pít, pat, bat). P'éi (p'éi, béi p'ai, p'ít, bít, pat). P'EU (pu, p'u, bu, pút, p'ut, bút). PI-some characters are read PÉI -(pi, pai, péi, bai, pit, pat, bat). P'I (p'i, p'ai, p'ei, p'it, p'ik, bit, bat). PIAO (pio, pot). P'IAO (p'io, p'ot, bio, bot). PIEH (pít, bít). P'IEH (pit).

PIEN (pien, bien, pin, bin). P'IEN (p'in, bin). рін (pit, pík, bít, bík). P'IH, (p'ik, p'it, bik, bit). PIN (pin, bin). P'IN (bin, p'im). PING (pang, ping, bang). P'ING (p'ing, p'ang, bing, bang). PIU (bio). Po (pa, pat). P'o (p'a, ba, p'at). рон (pak, pat, bak, bat). P'OH (p'at, p'ak, bak). PU (po, bo, pok, bok, pot, bot). P'U (p'o, bo, pok, bok, bot). PUH (pot, pet, bot, bok, bet). P'UH (p'ok).

The above are all the sounds grouped under the letter P in the Chinese dictionary. The forms given in brackets as old sounds do not carry us farther back than 1200 years. It will be noticed that they all terminate either in a vowel, or in one of the tenues, k, t, p, or in one of the liquids m, n, or, finally, in the nasal ng. Neither r nor l appears in this position. In Accadian, on the other hand, both appear as finals. Corresponding to the above sounds, in Accadian we have the following list: BA, BI, BU, BAD, BAL, BIL (PIL), BULUG', BAM, BAN, BAR, BUR, BIŠ (PEŠ); that is about a third of the Chinese number of sounds. (It happens that none of these roots ends in B, like GAB.) Thus we see that the Accadian series answers to the Chinese, in so far as it has for final sounds either vowels or the medials B, G, D, or the liquids M, N. Final L, R, s, have disappeared from Chinese; while Accadian has no special mode of marking a nasalized final letter.

Under each of the Chinese sounds, PA, PAH, etc., we find a number of different characters, with diverse meanings. All or nearly all under PA are sounded pa, but a distinction is made by means of the accents or tones, which play so important a part in the language. Considering the great number of meanings which we find grouped together under some Accadian signs, we may think it probable that a similar device obtained in that language also, at the time when it was still spoken, although no diacritic marks indicative of tonal

differences existed or were put on record by the Assyrian scribes. But Accadian availed itself freely of another expedient which is foreign to the Chinese. The same character was used to signify quite different sounds ($\succ =$ bat, be, til, mid, etc.), whereas in Chinese every distinct sound has a character all to itself. And sometimes we find the same Accadian syllable represented by different characters, $e.g. \rightarrow$ and $\rightleftharpoons \bigcirc$ are both BAD.

As regards meanings, the same or similar notions are repeated under each sound of the Chinese series; throughout the whole, the changes are rung, as it were, upon one or two leading ideas. Over and over again we encounter variations of the ideas of splitting, opening, striking, bursting forth, rushing, running, shining, which are all plainly reducible to one or two principal notions. The same thing is observable in the Accadian series. If BA is "the opening of the mouth," BI is "to speak," and so is PAD, and so is BAL; if BAD is "to open," so is BAR. This correspondence in mechanism is surely remarkable; and would probably be more so, if we had the complete series of Accadian sounds, instead of only a part of it. Let us now proceed to compare the two series, so far as possible.

Ba has the meanings $q\hat{a}\check{s}u$, "to give"; $az\hat{a}zu$, "to be angry," "enraged"; $na\check{s}\hat{a}ru$, "to tremble, shake, fall" ($\check{j}\Delta_{J}$), "to throw down," "overthrow"; and $p\hat{i}t$ $p\hat{i}$, "opening of the mouth." In Chinese, $p\hat{i}$ and $p\hat{e}\hat{i}$ are "to give," and ping is "to invite with a present," and pan is "to confer rewards (on soldiers)." $P\hat{i}$ is "great and robust," "angry"; $p\hat{i}e\hat{i}$, "to be soon angry"; $p\hat{i}a$ is "to fall to the ground," po, "to shake," $p\hat{i}a$, "to fear," $p\hat{i}\hat{e}\hat{i}$, "frightened," pien, "alarmed," pu, "afraid"; while KA-BA is represented by pa, "the mouth open," pa, "large mouthed," pa, "crying and wrangling of infants," "hubbub." BA as a verbal prefix answers to pa as "a sign of the optative." BA is also a pronoun, suatu, su, "that," "he, him," and $p\hat{i}$ is "that," a demonstrative.

BI ightharpoonup qibhharpoonup qia qibhharpoonup qirah qibhharpoonup qirah qibha qiao, "to make known," pan, "to publish abroad," po, "to sow, scatter, promulgate," pu, "publish," p'ien, "discuss, argue, describe." BI, ina, "in, with," is pa, "with." For the pronoun bI (= šu, šuatu, šâšu šunu), see BA. As BI is both singular and plural, so the Chinese pi is "that" and "those." So NA, "he, his, him," = Chinese na, "that." BI, "and," as in ITU-BI UD-MU-BI, arhu ûmu u šattu, "month, day and year," coincides with pa, "over," "upwards," "more," "besides," as in shih pa, "a thousand and more." BI,

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sîmânu, a term which properly means "signal" (שָׁ. נְקָבֵּר סִימְוָתָא), answers to piao, "a signal, flag"; p'iao, "to rise swiftly like fire"; "to make a signal with fire"; cp. BI, napáhu, "to flame up, blaze up," and "to kindle," and pao, "to burn," and BIL (PIL), "fire," "to burn," which we have already considered. BAD (>) is defined adâru, "to fear," nisû, "to break up camp, depart, remove," pitû, "to open," mâtu, "to die," and pagru, "a body, or corpse." The other sign EXMY, BAD, is defined dûru, "wall," "fortress," êlû, "high," mâtu, "to die." For BAD, "to fear," see BA; BAD, nisû, answers to pu, "to walk, march," pa, "a sacrifice offered at starting on a journey," p'ih, "to retire," pan, "to transport," etc., see BAR. For BAD, pitû, see BA; and cp. p'eu, "to rip open," p'ih, "to open," see BAR; and for BAD, "to die," cp. pi, "to fall down dead," "to kill." BAD, "wall," and "high," answers to pi, "a stockade round a camp"; pao, "a citadel," etc.; pih, "high," see BAR. Bu is napahu, see BI; and paqâmu, "to bridle"; cp. p'éi, "reins," "to harness," etc. (BAR). BUR, "to remove, transplant," and BUR, "to loose, set free," and BAR, "to free," have their cognates in pa, p'i, "to open," pien, "to dismiss," "to put at ease," and other words already cited. With BAL and BIL we dealt above; ¥, BAR, deserves to be treated at length, for some fifty Assyrian definitions of this term actually find their doubles in the Chinese lexicon. With BAN, BAM, gaštu, mitpanu, "bow, "quiver," compare the Chinese păng, "a stiff bow," păng, " to pull the bowstring"; păng, "a target;'; ping, "a quiver." BABEAR (BAR-BAR), "white," answers to p'iao, "to bleach," p'iao, clear, pure, of colour"; poh, "white"; cp. p'iao-poh, "a clear white." As regards initial P, PAK or PAG, "to fowl or catch birds," answers to pih (pik), "a bird-net"; p'ien, "a hunting falcon"; cp. pa, "to grasp, seize, catch." PA and PAD, "to speak, declare, adjure" (()-) = piao, "to make known," pu, "to publish," pa, "the mouth open," pih, "to talk." PAR, "spread out," has numerous analogues, among which are p'an, "to spread abroad," pan, "a board, slab," pai, "to spread out," p'u, "large," "extensive." With PIS (PES), "pregnant," "to bear," cp. p'ei, "an embryo"; p'eu, "swollen, tumid"; pao, "to wrap up, contain" (the character represents the fœtus inwrapt in the womb); pao, placenta; p'ei, "pregnant"; p'an, placenta Cantonese; in Pekinese, a falling womb); pih, "full"; pi, "stomach,") etc. Peš is also napāšu, "to breathe," "blow"; cp. Chinese pi, "the nose." PISAN, from which the Assyrians derived their pisannu,

"reservoir," "cistern," is a compound term; cp. pi, "to store, lay up"; pi, "a jar;" p'ing, "a pitcher," péi, "a dam," "a pool"; p'an, "deep dish or vessel to contain liquids or grain"; etc., etc., and san, "a wine vessel, an amphora"; si, sien, "to wash, bathe," "a bathing vessel"; etc., etc.

 $PA = \acute{a}ru$, "to shine," and $\acute{e}latu$, "height," "zenith," and $kam\^u$, "to collect," and $nak\^asu$, "to cut off," and $Nab\^u$, Nebo, "the proclaiming or prophet-god."

With PA, "to shine," cp. po, "shining, as the glare from water," pih, "fiery," p'an, "brilliant" (see BAR and BIL); with PA, êlatu, "height," p'a, "to climb," pih, "high," piao, "the topmost branch"; with PA, kamú, pa, "to gather, collect"; with PA, "to cut off," pa, "to leave off, finish"; and with PA, "Nebo," pa, "sound," "the mouth open," po, "to proclaim abroad," piao, "to make known," pu, "to publish."

An, Anna, "heaven," means, I think, the canopy or covering extended over the earth, and is to be compared with Chinese an, "to cover," "to hide"; an, "the sun obscured by clouds"; an, "dark"; an, "evening," "eclipsed" (see NGAN; old sounds, an, ngan, am, ngam). Perhaps we may also compare ai, "the sun hidden by clouds," "clouded"; ai, "hidden" (NGAI); and ai, "the heavens covered and adorned with clouds," "a cloudy but bright sky"; ai, "cloudy," "the sky covered with clouds" (AI). Under the same head we have ai, "beautiful and luxuriant vegetation;" much as in Accadian, ANA means also "ear of corn," and "twig or branch" (sissinnu = בנסנים). Cp. also ang (old sounds, ngung, yung), "to rise higher and higher," as the sun; ang, "great," "high"; ang, "overflowing"; ang, ang, "rich and abundant, like a spring," with ANU, šubultu, שבלת, "ear of corn," and "flood"; yang (old sound, yung), "lofty, clear, manifest," "heaven" as opposed to "earth"; yang, "to look up towards heaven"; yen (old sounds, yin, ngin, an), "clouds rising and spreading"; yen, "to overflow," "the margin of a stream" (šubultu); yen, "a high bank," "lofty," "steep"; yen, "a stream flowing far," "long, ample, extended"; yen, "a serene clear sky"; yen, "pitchy black, as the sky, which makes a background for stars"; yen, "a spacious covering or shelter"; yen, "the sun obscured by clouds," "indistinct," "obscure"; and yen, "to cover over, to hide." Yen, "sharp," "pointed," reminds one again of ANU, šubultu, "an ear of (bearded) wheat," spica. I think it probable, therefore, that the original term for "heaven" was GAN (NGAN), a view which

is favoured by the initial و (rather than !) of יוֹנָייָ, הְיַנִי, מוֹנְיּלָ, and that the term meant "the covering or canopy above the earth" (כף. the roots י, "כֹּלַ, "to cover"). The term was then used, by a natural transfer, to denote "high," "lofty," while Anu, the god, is simply heaven personified, or the zi anna, the Spirit of Heaven. Perhaps, as the canopy of heaven appears concave (cp. yen, "bell-shaped"), ears of corn got the same name from their bending and bowing (cp. Gin, "a reed"). The Accadian Gan G'E, "abundance," "overflow," an apparent homophone of (G)AN, "sky," seems to connect the two meanings of corn and flood.

Of the numerals I have already identified Gis, "one," with yih (yit), "one"; and "two," TAB, with Chinese t'a (t'ap). MIN, MIN-NA, "two," may be connected with êrh or ărh or 'rh, "two," which, strange as it may appear, had formerly the sound of ni. This ni may represent an older MI, as in Accadian itself we find dialectic m for n. So êrh, "ear" = ni = mi = mu-š, GI-š, "ear." The Chinese term for "three" is san, which seems to answer to Accadian E-SIN, "thirty." Sin (San; cp., Sanherib), the moongod, was symbolized by the number 30. The Chinese sz' or ssŭ (the root closely approximates to shi), may be akin to the Accadian šan, šim, šib, "four." A, ia, "five," goes back to GAD, "the hand"; cp. Chinese wu, "five" = older wot = mot = mat = gat. Aš, "six" = A + AŠ = 5 + I = GAD + GAŠ = DGAŠ = dyaŠ = lyaŠ = Amoy liok,Mandarin luh (old sound, lok.) Gišpu, "ten" (Gišip) = Chinese shih, "ten" (old sound, ship). Aš-TAN means, I think, "one only"; cp. tan, "single," "alone" (old sound, tan). "His army was in three corps," san tan; tan being added to the numeral as in Accadian.

Exceptio probat regulam. The Mandarin speech has an initial j sound (zh; the French sound, as in juge), which, after several false starts, I determined to represent an Accadian G (ig). How was this result to be reconciled with the rule that Accadian G = Chinese y? The old forms and the dialects supplied the answer. Strange as it may appear, the old sound of jan (pronounced zhan) was actually nien, that is, nyen, that is nGIN, so that this term is no real exception to the rule (cp. Fuhchau ying, ying, and Chifu yin). Under J, the Chinese Lexicon groups sixteen principal sounds, viz., JAN, JANG, JANG, JANG, JAOG, JEH, JEH, JEH, JOH, JÜ, JUH, JUI, JUN, JUNG, JWA, JWAN.

(To be continued.)

THE TREE AND FRUIT REPRESENTED BY THE TAPPŪAKH (תַּפַּה) OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

By the Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S., &c.

Few Biblical plant-names have given rise to more discussion than the tappūakh, rendered "apple" in our Version; there is some difficulty in selecting any fruit-tree which will answer all the Biblical requirements. The Hebrew word occurs in Cant. ii, 3, "as the tappūakh among the trees of the thicket (יער) yā'ar, so is my beloved among the sons; I rejoiced and sat down under its shadow, and its fruit was pleasant (בותוֹק) māthōk to my palate;" in Cant ii, 5, the Shulamite says, "Sustain ye me with raisin-cakes (אשׁישׁוֹרת) ashīṣhōth, refresh me with tappūkhīm, for sick with love am I;" in vii, 8, Solomon is represented as saying to the Shulamite, "May the smell of thy breath be like tappūkhīm." In Cant. viii, 5, the Shulamite says, "under the tappūakh I aroused thee; there thy mother was in travail with thee . . . and brought thee forth." The tappūakh is mentioned in Joel i, 12, with other trees injured by locusts; and in Prov. xxv, 11, we read that "a word fitly spoken is like golden tappūkhīm in silver baskets." The Biblical requirements, I think, may be reduced to two only, viz.: that the fruit should be pleasant to the palate, and possess a sweet odour; it is not necessary to discover a tree which would afford any considerable amount of shade; the tappūakh was far superior to other trees, and "to sit under the shade" may denote nothing more than "under its branches." The expression of golden "apples" in silver baskets mentioned above, does not, I imagine, allude to the bright pale foliage of any tree contrasted with its golden fruit; but to such fruit in manufactured silver filigree work (משבית) maskīth. The citron, the quince, the apple, and the apricot have each been suggested as the tree denoted by the tappūakh. The claim of the citron cannot be supported. The citron (Citrus medica) was obtained by the Greeks possibly as early as the time of Alexander's Asiatic campaign; but it is pretty certain that its original home is in Nepaul, and perhaps also in China, the home of the sweet orange, and the late introduction of the Citrus

medica into Palestine at once forbids its identification with the Biblical tree.* The claim of the quince (Cydonia vulgaris) has been advocated by Celsius (Hierobotanicon i, p. 254-267). This tree is a native of the Mediterranean basin, and is when ripe deliciously fragant, but according to our Western tastes, by no means pleasant to the taste when uncooked, but on the contrary austere and unpleasant. This latter fact is regarded generally as destructive of its pretensions; but for my part I hesitate to throw over the claims of the quince to denote the tappūakh, on account of its taste. "De gustibus non est disputandum." The flavour and odour of plants or other things is simply a matter of opinion. Orientals set a high value on flavours and odours which to European senses are unpleasing; moreover we must seek for the reason why such and such a fruit was regarded with approbation. Let me adduce the instance of the mandrake, Atropa mandragora. To most Europeans the smell of the whole plant is very fetid, but even Europeans differ; Schulz says "they have a delightful smell and the taste is equally agreeable, though not to everybody." Mariti says "the fruit is of the size and colour of a small apple, ruddy and of a most agreeable odour." Tristram writes, "the perfume of the flower we found by no means disagreeable, though it is said by some to be fetid" (Land of Israel, p. 102). Again, it has a peculiar, but decidedly not unpleasant smell and a pleasant sweet taste" (Nat. Hist. Bib., p. 467, ed. 7th). When we remember the properties which the mandrake was and is still supposed by the natives of Palestine to possess, viz., its efficacy as a love-philtre to strengthen the affection between the sexes, we see at once the reason of their

^{*} Some writers have concluded that the citron was known to the early Jews of Palestine from the testimony of Josephus who (Antiq. xiii, 13, § 5) states that King Alexander Jannæus was pelted with citrons (κιτρίοις) which at the Feast of Tabernacles the Jews had in their hands, because "the law required that at that feast every one should have branches of the palm-tree and citron-tree." Josephus evidently had in mind the êts hādār of Lev. xxiii, 40, which he considered to be some special tree, rather than any "goodly" or ornamental tree; but Hehn has well shown that the Greek κίτριον, the Latin citrus comes originally from on account of its supposed property to preserve clothes, &c., from moths, like the seented wood of the cedars and other conifers. As the golden Median apple was laid among clothes for this purpose (the custom continuing into the middle of the second century A.D.), and as the smell of the rind was thought to be similar to that of cedar-resin, the common people imagined it to be the fruit of the citrus tree and gave it the name citrium (Wanderings, ctc., p. 333).

fondness for it. The same arguments may, I think, be applied to the *tappūakh*. "The Song of Solomon," so called, seems to be a sort of pastoral love-song, partly dramatic, and it abounds with expressions of endearment, caresses and love. The quince among the ancient Greeks and Romans was a token of love; it seems to have been so regarded by the Orientals. Celsius quotes Abu'l Fadli in illustration of Cant. ii, 5, "Comfort me with *tappūkhūm*, for I am love-sick." "Its scent," says the Arabian writer, "cheers my soul, renews my strength and restores my breath."

On the expression, "its fruit was sweet to my taste" (A. V.), one may observe that the Hebrew word (מתוֹק) does not of necessity either imply a saccharine or a glucose sweetness; "the bitter waters which were made sweet," A. V. (Ex. xv, 25), were made pleasant; their bitterness was destroyed; "the worm shall feed sweetly upon him" (Job xxiv, 20), must mean shall feed on him with pleasure; and so in Cant. I.c., "its fruit was pleasant to my palate," pleasant probably not only on account of the acid juice of the fruit, but because of its associations with friendship and love. If a European may wonder at an Oriental calling the quince juice pleasant, let him remember that Europeans eat with much delight such (to me) abominable things as caviare and unripe olives steeped in brine! It must not be forgotten that the seeds of quince abound in mucilage, and that a decoction is sometimes used amongst ourselves as a demulcent. "The seed of quinces," says old Gerarde (Herbal., p. 1453, London, 1633), "tempered with water, doth make a mucilage, or a thing like jelly, which being held in the mouth is marvellous good to take away the roughness of the tongue in hot burning fevers." An apparent objection to the quince being the tappūakh of the Canticles, is the fact that no ripe fruit would be found on the tree at the end of March and beginning of April, the season expressly mentioned of the Song; the trees would then be in blossom, or in early fruit; the only tree which could have ripe fruit in the Spring is the citron which may have flowers, young fruit and ripe fruit seen together at the same moment; but is it necessary to suppose that the tree under which the Shulamite sat yielded at that time ripe fruit? May not the fruit be that of the preceding year which would hang on the tree till quite late, provided there were no frost? May it not have been among the fruits concerning which the Shulamite says (Cant. vii, 13), "at our doors are all manner of precious fruits new and old, which I have laid up for thee, O my beloved." *

Let us next consider the claims of the apple. Many years ago, Sir Joseph Hooker, with his usual kindness, wrote to me on the eve of his departure for Palestine to ask what special subjects I wished him to make enquiries about. Amongst other things I mentioned the apple. Dr. Thomson in his work The Land and the Book wrote, "The whole area (about Askelon) is especially celebrated for its apples, which are the largest and best I have ever seen in this country. When I was here in June quite a caravan started for Jerusalem loaded with them, and they would not have disgraced even an American orchard. . . . Let tappūakh therefore stand for apple, as our translation has it" (p. 545, Ed. 1860). Sir J. Hooker wrote to me thus: "Three, to all appearances unexceptional English resident authorities, including a consul and a medical gentleman, assured me that the finest apples in Syria grew at Joppa and Askelon. The fact appeared so improbable that, though one authority had eaten them, I could not resist prosecuting the enquiry, and at last found a gentleman who had property there, and knew a little of horticulture, who assured me they were all Quinces!" Tristram says, "though the fruit of the apple is cultivated with success in the higher parts of Lebanon, out of the boundaries of the Holy Land, yet it barely exists in the country itself. There are indeed a few trees in the gardens of Jaffa, but they do not thrive, and have a wretched woody fruit, and perhaps there may be some at Askelon" (Nat. Hist. of Bible, p. 334). H. Chichester Hart, quoting from an intelligent resident at Jerusalem, writes, "Strawberries, apples, and pears have all been unsuccessfully tried" (Quarterly Statement Pal. Expl. Fund, p. 282). When I visited Palestine in 1886 I neither saw nor heard anything of apples and apple trees. One would have supposed from the evidence of botanists and other authorities, that the tappūakh of the O. T. cannot possibly be the apple (Pyrus malus), and that Palestine is too hot for the successful cultivation of this fruit. A few years ago, however, a very learned writer, Professor W. Robertson Smith, published a few remarks in the Journal of Philology (vol. xiii, pp. 65, 66; for 1885) on the

^{*} I do not see any objection why we should not interpret the words "comfort me with tappūkhūm" as having reference to some preparation of the fruit as a sweetmeat; "comfort me with quince jelly," like the first half of the verse, "stay ye me with raisin-cakes."

Tappūakh of Canticles, in which he maintains that the "apple appears to satisfy every condition, and that it is unnecessary to take the Biblical man in any other sense than the word has in later Hebrew and in Arabic." "The quince," the Professor writes, "has a distinct name not only in Arabic but in the Mishna, and the Mishnic (פרישׁן) pārīsh is, as Löw remarks, undoubtedly a Hebrew word (Aramäische Pflanzennamen, No. 109). Thus even Löw's concession that it is just possible that in Hebrew poetry the word apple may be used to cover the quince is uncalled for, if the true apple is known in Palestine and has the qualities referred to in the Canticles. Both these things are easily proved." The proofs adduced are certain extracts from Arabic writers, who affirm that beautiful and excellent apples were in the time of the Caliphs exported from Syria to Persia. The Arabic for the apple is tuffah, a word clearly allied to the Hebrew tappūakh. Tha ālibī writes, "One of the specialities of Syria is its apples, which are proverbial for their beauty and excellence. Thirty thousand of them were brought to the Caliphs every year in cases (Kirābāt); and it is said that they smelt sweeter in 'Irāk than in Syria." Another writer mentions apples as an article of export from Jerusalem. On the sweetness and fragrance of the apples the Caliph Ma'mūn says, "the yellowness of the pearl is combined with the redness of gold, and the whiteness of silver; the eye luxuriates in its beauty, the sense of smell in its odour, and the palate in its taste." Its restorative property is mentioned by Kazwīnī, who also speaks of that of the quince. Yazīd b. Mohallab being weakened by a fever "had an apple by him and kept smelling it because of his weakness." In these interesting extracts there seems to be no doubt the Arabic tuffah denotes the apple (Pyrus malus). Apples have been long cultivated with success in the higher parts of Lebanon, and are still so cultivated, and it is very probable that they formed in the time of the Caliphs an important article of export from Damascus, where good apples are still grown in the orchards. If Mokaddasi is correct in stating that apples were an article of export from Jerusalem, then they must have been imported into that town from elsewhere, for apple trees will not thrive there. Excellent apples have long been known to be cultivated in the convent gardens of Mt. St. Catharine in Sinai, the high elevation and cooler air being favourable to their welfare. Hasselquist, writing from Cairo in September, 1750, speaking of ripe dates, says, "I confess they are good to taste once or twice yet I would gladly

give two baskets of dates for half a bushel of good Swedish apples ... Apples are scarce here; they are brought hither from Mount Sinai, where the Grecian monks have delightful orchards full of the finest apple and pear trees" (*Letters*, p. 424). It is possible such fruit may have found its way from the Sinaitic peninsula or from Lebanon into Jerusalem.

It seems clear that the common Hebrew and Mishnic name of the quince is $p\bar{a}r\bar{s}sh$ (Errig), but it is not uncommon to find the same object denoted by different words or the same word to stand for two different things. The almond-tree has two names, $l\hat{a}z$ and $sh\hat{a}q\hat{c}d$; in the Jerusalem Targum the $per\bar{s}sh\bar{s}n$ are also said by Rabbi Jona to be "asparagus." The word $p\bar{a}r\bar{s}sh$ may denote the quince, from the septa or cellular partitions of the fruit, while $tapp\bar{u}akh$ may have especial reference to its odour; * moreover, it does not follow that because an Arabic name of a tree or fruit in the time of the Caliphs had the special meaning of an apple, the corresponding Hebrew word should have the same definite and exclusive meaning in a poem written many hundred years before. But apart from etymological considerations, it is certain from natural history a fact that the $Pyrus\ malus\ will$ not thrive and produce excellent fruit near Jerusalem, the scene of the Canticles, or anywhere else in Palestine proper.

The most recent suggestion is that of Canon Tristram, who thinks that the apricot alone answers all the Biblical requirements. "Everywhere the apricot is common. Perhaps it is, with the single exception of the fig, the most abundant fruit of the country" (Nat. Hist of Bible, p. 335.) There is something to be said in favour of the claim of the apricot to denote the tappūakh of Canticles; it may have been introduced into Palestine in early times from Armenia, but it was unknown in Italy during the first century of the Roman Empire. "Neither Cato, Varro, Cicero, or any other author of the Republican period, nor any poet of the Augustan age, knew anything about them; and the elder Greeks, so far as their writings are preserved, were just as ignorant" (Wanderings of Plants and Animals, Hehn and Stallybrass, p. 320). This is true, and we must allow a late introduction of the apricot-tree into Greece and Italy, but it may have been introduced into Palestine in early times. The Hebrews,

^{*} The root of [] Dp, however, may be PDD "to swell out," "to be round," rather than PDD "to breathe forth," like the Aramaic THP, sphærula, pomum, quod figuram habet rotundum; from The circuire, in se redire.

however, had but slight acquaintance with Armenia, which country is in all probability identical with the Hebrew places Togarmah and Minni. The Armenians ("they of the House of Togarmah," Ezek. xxvii, 14) carried on commerce with the Tyrians in horses, war-horses, and mules, and it is quite possible that apricot fruit and fruit-trees from the temperate parts of Central Asia, where the tree is indigenous, were among the commodities imported into Tyre, "the merchant of the peoples unto many isles;" but when we consider the early introduction of the quince from Crete into Greece and Italy (about the middle of the seventh and sixth century B.C.), the estimation in which it has always been held as a sweetmeat in confectionery, and as a perfume, together with its associations with bridal gifts and love games, it is most probable that the quince tree was early introduced into Palestine, and I think that, after all said, it has the best claim to represent the Hebrew tappūakh.



NOTE ON THE D'ORBINEY PAPYRUS.

DEAR MR. RYLANDS,

The D'Orbiney papyrus contains on page 17, line 4, the following passage:—

which has been variously rendered by the eminent Egyptologists who have translated this interesting document.

The late M. Chabas translated: "His Majesty wearing the pectoral of lapis" (Sa Majesté portant le pectoral de lapis);

M. Le Page Renouf: "His Majesty was wearing the collar of lapis-lazuli."

Whilst an entirely different interpretation is given by the following scholars:—

M. Maspero: "His Majesty went forth from the portal of lapis-lazuli" (Sa Majesté sortit du portail de lapis-lazuli);

M. Groff: "His Majesty went forth from the portal (?) of xesbet" (Sa Majesté sortit du portail (?) de xesbet).

I beg to offer below, and to support by a short analysis of the two questionable groups, a translation differing but slightly from that of M. Le Page Renouf.

The use of the group is well known in the sense of appear, come into view, as the sun or a star from below the horizon, bring forth in procession the sacred shrines. It has also a secondary meaning in the sense of adorned or invested (with the emblem of royalty), crowned (as king). (See Brugsch, Lexicon, vii, p. 899.) In our text it is connected with the group is here written with two determinatives, the cord, and the plan of a house, . In this form it signifies an aperture in the wall of a building for admission of light and air. a window. (See Brugsch, Lexicon, vii, p. 1135.) There can however be little doubt, that the determinative . is here superfluous, and that we have to deal with one of those orthographic peculiarities signalled by M. Chabas, who, in his Mélanges, i, p. 99, quotes other instances of a similar nature. In the present case, it seems certain that the

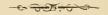
group seshet signifies not portal but diadem, tiara, as is clearly shown by a passage of the Inscription of Kuban, where, line 8, nearly the same expression occurs. "The king," it is said, "was seated on his throne," "In this phrase the word seshet is followed by the picture of a circular band with the asp in front and a knot with pendants behind, representing evidently a royal head-ornament in metal or some kind of texture. (Compare Wilkinson, Ancient Egyptians, vol. ii, p. 328, fig. 11.) Also, M. Brugsch has rendered it in this sense in his Lexicon (loco citato).

I propose, therefore, to translate the sentence in question as follows: "His Majesty was adorned with the diadem of lapis-lazuli (or the blue diadem)."

Very truly yours,

P. J. DE HORRACK.

PARIS. Nov. 14th, 1889.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 3rd December, 1889, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

Dr. M. Schwab:—"Les Coupes et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale."

REV. W. HOUGHTON, M.A., F.L.S.:—"Was the Camel known to the early Egyptians?"

NOTICES.

Subscriptions to the Society become due on the 1st of January each year. Those Members in arrear for the current year are requested to send the amount £1 1s. at once to the *Treasurer*, B. T. Bosanquet, Esq., 54, St. James's Street, S.W.

Papers proposed to be read at the Monthly Meetings must be sent to the Secretary on or before the 10th of the preceding month.

Members having New Members to propose are requested to send in the names of the Candidates on or before the 10th of the month preceding the meeting at which the names are to be submitted to the Council. On application, the proper nomination forms may be obtained from the Secretary.

Vol. IX, Part 2, of the "Transactions" of the Society is in the press. Only a few complete sets of the "Transactions" of the Society now remain; they may be obtained by application to the Secretary, W. Harry Rylands, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

The LIBRARY of the Society, at 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C., is open to Members on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, between the hours of 11 and 4, for the general business of the Society.

As a new list of Members will shortly be printed, Members are requested to send any corrections or additions they may wish to have made in the list which was published in Vol. VIII, Part 3.

Members are recommended to carefully preserve their copies of the "Proceedings," as they will not be reprinted at the end of the Volume of "Transactions," and if lost can only be supplied at a charge for each Part, or for the Volumes.

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DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
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Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XII. TWENTIETH SESSION.

Second Meeting, December 3rd, 1889.

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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

Second Meeting, 3rd December, 1889.

REV. CANON ST. VINCENT BEECHEY,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author:—L'Art antique égyptien dans le Musée de Leide, par W. Pleyte. Vienne. 8vo. 1888.

Actes du VIIe Congrès des Orientalistes.

Over denoudst bekenden egyptischen cilinder mededeeling, van W. Pleyte. Amsterdam. 8vo. 1889.

Konink. Akad. van. Wetensch. Letterkunde, 3 R, vi d.

From the Author, Dr. Wiedemann:—Der Eröffnung der Pyramide von Hawara.

Aus Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Alt. fr. im Rheinl., 87.

From Dr. Wiedemann:—Romischer Isis cult an der Mosel. Von Richard Arnoldi.

Aus Jahrb. d. Ver. v. Alt. fr. im Rheinl., 87.

From the Author:—Die Assyriologie als Hülfswissenschaft für das Studium des Alten Testaments und des Klassischen Altertums, von Dr. H. Zimmern. Königsberg, i Pr. 8vo. 1889.

No. LXXXVII.] 51

From the Author:—Reuben Norland: Rev. A. Löwy on Elohistic and Jehovistic Proper Names. 8vo. London. 1889.

From the Jewish World, 1889.

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on January 14th, 1890:—

Charles F. Richardson, LL.D., B.A. (Lond.), Tranby, Colwyn Bay. Charles Martin, Clanmarina, Torquay.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting on November 5th, 1889:—

Dr. Martin Jäger, Keilstrasse, 18¹¹, Leipzig.

Rev. Thomas Robson Pickering, Harrington, West Cumberland.

Jos. C. Green, M.D., Buffalo, New York, U.S.A.

John T. D. Llewelyn, Penllergare, Swansea.

Dr. Léon de Lantsheere, 210, Rue du Trône, Bruxelles.

Prof. R. L. Bensly, Professor of Arabic, Caius College, Cambridge.

Prof. O. Donner, Helsingfors University, Finland.

Alexander Payne, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.I., A.I.C.E., 4, Storeys Gate, St. James's Park, S.W.

Rev. Edward George King, D.D., Vicar of Madingley, Cambridge. Mrs. Voile, 10, Museum Mansion, Great Russell Street, W.C.

The Ven. James Augustus Hessey, D.C.L., D.D., &c., Archdeacon of Middlesex, 41, Leinster Gardens, Hyde Park, W.

A Paper by Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S., entitled "Was the Camel known to the Early Egyptians?" was read by the Rev. A. Löwy.

Remarks were added by Canon Beechey, Thos. Christy, F.L.S., A. Peckover, F.S.A., Dr. S. Louis, and Rev. A. Löwy.

A Paper by Dr. M. Schwab, entitled, "Les coupes magiques et l'hydromancie dans l'antiquité orientale," was read by the Secretary. It will be printed, with illustrations, in a future number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Dr. S. Louis, Rev. A. Löwy, and the Chairman.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

THE NEW ACCADIAN.

By the Rev. C. J. Ball, M.A., Oxon.,

CHAPLAIN OF LINCOLN'S INN; FORMERLY CENSOR AND LECTURER IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

(Continued from page 41.)

When I came to look at the meanings grouped under these heads, I found that they exhibited a remarkable correspondence with those of the Accadian signs - YA, GI, ⇒ YA, GA, GI, ≥ E, G'A, G'E, G'U, GAN, , GAM, TY, GA, and the correlated forms with initial M (w, v) and D, z. And just as in Accadian we find a sort of hesitation between initial G and K, and G-forms often have doubles with initial κ ; so Chinese words which originally had an initial c, often have secondary forms with initial K.* - | GI-VA, - | GI-EN, - | GI-IN, show that GIN, or GEN, is the primary sound of - 114; and the second character, > 14 had also the values GIN, GI. Now GIN, the Accadian original of the Assyrian ganû (קבה), "a reed," has also the further meanings assigned to it in the Assyrian text: kânu, "to be fixed, "kênu, "fixed," "firm," "right," "faithful," "friendly"; šapāru, "to send"; tāru, "to turn," "to return," "to become," "to be"; biblu, "wish," "desire"; sanâqu, "to press together," "confine," "shut in," "close a door," "join," "to hearken to," "to obey"; gimru, "all," "the whole" (complete); ĉsiru, "a band"; kapáşu, "to draw together," "close mouth or hands," "draw oneself together," ad moriendum, "to die" (Hebrew and Arabic), or ad saliendum, "to jump" (Chaldee), in Assyrian a synonym of qadâdu, "to bow down," "bend or incline oneself," and of kanâšu, "to submit," "subject oneself" (= \ GAM qadâdu); šadâru, "to order, command"; mâtum, "country," "land"; mahâru, "to be in front," "to receive," "to encounter," "meet," "to oppose"; malû, "to be full"; şabâtu, "to take," "to wear"; şaḥru, "small," "young" (= יֻצִיר, parvus, vilis, contemtus); šanû, "other," "second," "to alter," "to repeat," "relate"; taqanu, a synonym of

53 F 2

^{*} The parallel Chinese series with initial y should also be compared with the series here discussed.

kânu, "to be or become firm, stable, right," "to order, arrange, adorn, correct," etc.; šimtu, "ordinance," "lot," "fate"; zikaru, "male, man." To Ma, GA, GI, GIN, belong GI, apâlu, "answer"; dahû, "to butt," "thrust," "approach" (Hebrew ; יודי,); ekimu, "to seize," "take"; kalû, "to close" (a door), "to stop, hinder, restrain"; "shut in or out"; mahâlu, "to dishonour, defile" (Chaldee and Syriac use); nakâmu, "to heap up"; nakâru, "to be other, hostile," "to alter," etc.; našů, "to lift up, bear," "take," etc.; pašůhu, "to soothe, appease, calm, set at ease"; saḥâru, "to go or turn round, surround"; paqâdu, "to oversee," "look after," "take care of"; "to entrust to," "to put in charge," "appoint"; šabû, "to be satiated, filled with food"; šabâru, "to break"; šabâṭu, "to strike," "smite," "kill"; šalâmu, "to be whole, unimpaired, sound"; "to repay, reward, prosper"; "to finish, end, complete"; šanânu, "to contend with, rival"; têbû, "to approach, come upon, attack"; 'uru, "to send, inform, direct"; GI-IN, amtu, "a maid," "handmaid"; GI-GI, pitû ša pâni, "opening, i.e., uncovering, of the face"; GI-ME, a maid, female slave (kinatu), etc., etc. All these meanings belong also to the Chinese sounds enumerated above.

I will take the Chinese terms in their order, as they are given in the dictionary.

JAN (old sound nien).

zhan, "to burn."

Accadian GI,* "fire"; \(\), GIN,
"bright"; ZA-GIN; MUL, nabâţu, "to shine" \(\) \(\)I, DI,
ditto; DÊ, "fire"; IZI, "fire";
\(\) \(\

^{* (}GI-BIL, BIL-GI, "fire," "the fire-god," burning," kilûtu. GI-BIL-LAL= reed + fire + full = diparu, "torch": vid. Jensen, Z.K. II, 52). Did not Prometheus bring down fire from heaven in a reed, or hollow fennel stalk? But the roots GAR, GUB, GUD, GUS, "to be bright," and the form DÊ, "fire," which perhaps we see in diparu=DÊ+BIR, cp. KI-BIR=GI-BIL, seem to point to a homophone GI, "fire."

zhan = "yes," "certainly," "it is
so," "thus, in this way."

zhan, "red silk," "that which has been dyed a bright crimson or scarlet," etc.; vid. zhan, "to dye," infra.

zhan, "the whiskers," "the beard" zhan, "red silk," "that which has (2 characters), vid. zhan, "luxuriant tender herbage," infra.*

zhan, "a large serpent."zhan, "a hem or broad band on a woman's dress."zhan, "a caterpillar."

zhan, "tender," "weak." (Character represents hair just growing on the body—down.)

zhan, "luxuriant tender herbage,"
"by turns."

zhan, "to dye," "to taint or infect."

GINA, GIN = ki-a-am, "thus."

GA, 🤾 , sarâpu, " to stain, dye."

So called as sprouting forth from the skin, like GIN, reeds and rushes by the waterside.

[Style="color: blue;">Style="color: blue;">St

GI(N), kapāṣu, se contrahere, a trait of snakes and caterpillars. GI(N), saḥāru, "to go round." GIN, GI, biegen, drehen, wenden, zurückkehren (Haupt). The rcot expresses the ideas of length and sinuous motion. MU-š, ṣɛ̂ru, "serpent." †

GIN, "a reed"; "that which bends and bows like a reed." GIN, *ṣalyru*, "small," "little," "weak."

GIN, "reeds, rushes, bamboos," etc.

GIN, târu, "to turn and return."
GA, 'to dye," "to stain."

^{*} As we find in this Chinese series terms denoting *dress*, *clothing*, homophonous with terms denoting *hair*, *down*, etc. (considered as a covering), so in Accadian we have std defined *lubuštn*, "clothing," and *šartn*, "hair."

⁺ Jan, "serpent," is pronounced *lm* at Canton, *jiam* in Amoy, and ze at Shanghai. With the last, cp. \$18, the other value of the Accadian symbol.

zhan, "to dye," "to taint or infect," "to soil," "to render vile;" "soft," "pliant."

GI(N), maḥâlu (?), "to pour in,"
"mingle," "dishonour," "defile;" MÊ, "pour out;" G'A,
G'Ê, ṣirpêtu, "dyed stuff;"
DU-B,* ṣibû, "to immerse in;"
"to pour out;" perhaps GIG,
MI, "dark."
GIN, "to bow and bend"; "the

GIN, MU, MÊ, NA, NI, NU, DILI,

pliant reed or rush."

N.B.—Zhan, "a sort of monkey," is an onomatopæa, according to the authorities.

JĂN (like Sanskrit inherent a).

Old sounds, nín and ním. Cantonese yăn, yăm, ngăn, etc. Chifu yin.

zhăn, "a man," "human beings"; yih ko zhăn, "one person," whether a nan zhăn, "male," or nü zhăn, "female."

zhăn, "humanity," "regard for others," "the first of the constant virtues," "fulfilling one's social duties."

"paralyzed," "numb." zhăn, "rafters or laths of the roof." zhăn, "great," "full."

"to flatter," "to adulate." zhăn, "pregnant."

zikaru, "male," "man." GIN, GINNA, amtu, "female slave." GEME, "maid." (Ext., GALU, GULU, "man" = ngálu, ngúlu, Jensen). GIN, kênu, "righteous," "friendly," etc. MUN, ţâbtu, "goodness;" DUG, DU, ZIB, "good." kittu, "justice," NIG-GINNA, "equity." GIN, kênu, "fixed," "set fast." GIN, kânu, "to be fixed," "firm." GI(N), MAL, malû, "to be full"; cp. GAL, GUL, MAR, "great." GIN, "to bend and bow before." GIN, malû, "full;" UMME-DA, EME-DA, țârîtu, "a pregnant woman"; lit. mother + big.† GA, alâdu, "to bear."

^{*} The compound term DUBBIN is explained, $sumbu = s\hat{a}bu$, "the finger"; supru, "finger-nail"; and $ub\hat{a}nu$, "finger" or "thumb." DUB=Chinese chi, old sound, tik=DIG, "a finger"; and BIN may be compared with Chinese p'i=BI, "the thumb." *Chia* (old sound, gab), is "the finger-nails."

[†] Cp. Chinese tu, "belly"; t'ai, "the pregnant womb" (old sound, da); ta, "big, plump," "to grow large"; and yün (under YIN), "pregnant"=GIN.

zhăn, "a manfish or merman" (see No. 1).

zhăn, "fortitude," "patience," "endurance."

"to bear or suffer patiently."
"to repress."

zhăn, "to allow," "give way to," as anger.

"harsh," "inflexible."

zhăn, "to gormandize."

zhăn, "kindhearted," "gentle," "flexible."

zhăn (also read nin), "to dwell upon with satisfaction" (character="heart"+"to sustain"); "to consider," "to think."

"a harvest or season."

"a year" (vid. infr., p. 74)

"laid up," "accumulated." zhăn, "a weapon, strong and well-tempered," "edged weapons," "the edge," "a knife at the end of a spear."

Oannes = ANA, GANA, G'ANA, "the Fish-god."

gin, kânu, "to be fixed," "firm."

našû, "to bear."
esiru, "catch"; kalû, "to
close"; sanâqu, "to confine," "compress"; DIM,
einengen, bedrängen.

GIN, "to bend," "bow," "yield."

GIN, kânu, "to be fixed," "firm."

GI(N), šabû, "to be surfeited," "satiated."

GIN, "bending," "pliant."

GI(N), pašâḫu, "to be at ease," "rest"; šAG-GINNA, bibil libbi, "the bringing, or turning of the heart to a thing," "desire or design."

GIN, babâlu, "to bring" (云).

GIN, *kia'am*, "thus," "so," "in this way"; DêN, do.

GIN, qanû, "culm or stalk" (of grain); ZI, ZID, qimu, קֹבְיָרוּ, "standing corn" (=š£); GIN, šullumu, "to complete"; malû, šabû. GʻA, GʻE, GʻU, GAN, (ܕܓܕ), "to be abundant," "plenteous."

GI(N), nakâmu, "to lay up."

GIN, "a reed," "a shaft" (long and pointed or sharpened at the end, for a weapon); *cp*. Isaiah xxxvi, 6, for a reed that *pierces*.

"sharp-pointed," "to kill."

zhăn, "a measure of eight cubits."

"full," "to fill."

- zhăn, "to block a wheel," "a catch," "an impediment," "to embarrass."
- zhăn, "to fill up," "stuff;" "crammed full."
- zhăn, "tough," "not brittle,"
 "strong but flexible," "tenacious."
- zhan, "to join fibres together, and make a thread"; "to sew," "stitch."
- zhăn,* "slow of speech," "unready," "stammering." "benevolent": vid. supra.
- zhăn, "to know well," "discriminate between," "to recognize," "know again," "a mark," "a criterion."
- zhăn, "to weave"; cp. the various terms denoting cloth, clothes, in this series.
- zhān, "the lappel of a coat buttoned under the arm," "a single mat," "fastenings on a coffin."

- GIN, *šullumu*, "to finish;" GA, *šabâṭu*, "to kill"; GAZ, *dâku*, "to kill"; GUL, *ubbutu*, "to destroy," or *ḫipû*, "to cut off."
- GIN, qanû, "a reed," "a common Babylonian measure of length" (cp. Ezekiel xl, 3, 5; xli, 8).
- GIN, malû, "to fill," "be full."
- GIN, kânu, "to fix," "secure"; esiru, "to catch"; ekimu, "to seize," "catch"; kalû, "to close," "impede."
- GIN, malû, "to be full;" GA malû.
- GIN, "to bend" (without break ing).
- GIN, "to turn and twist" (drehen).
 GIN, sanâqu, "to join together"
 (shaphel).
- GIN, "a reed," "wavering," "unstable."
- GI, GA, kalû, "to close," "shut," "impede."
- GIN, qanû, "a measure," "a standard"; târu, "to return;" nakâru (Heb.), "to recognize." DI, dânu, "to judge"; ZA, ZU, "to know."
- GIN, kânu, "to be made fast,"
 "to fasten" (pael); sanâqu,
 "to connect;" qanû, "reed"
 (mats were made of bamboo).

^{*} In Canton păn, in Amoy jlm, in Shanghai zăng; forms which seem to indicate GIN, DIM, and ZIG, respectively, as their archetypes. Cp. Accadian DUG and ZIB, "good."

zhăn, "sincere," "sure," "trustworthy," "trusted," "relied on," "a trust," "an office," "that which is imposed on one," "the incumbent," "acting official." GIN, kînu, "sincere," "sure," "trustworthy;" "trusted."

GI-GI, paqâdu, "to put in charge,"
"entrust with an office;" pâqid,
"an officer."

JANG (*old sound*, niang = nyang = ngang = nGAN, GAN; Chifu, yang=gang; Fuhchau, yòng=gāng).

zhăng, "culm or stalk of grain,"
"luxuriant," "abundant," "fruitful."

GIN, "a reed or stalk"; zi, "standing corn."

G'A, "to abound;" G'A-L, "to flow."

zhang, "to push to or from one with the hand," "to appropriate," "to seize without right."

GA, GIN, daḥû, "to push, thrust";
GI, ṣabâtu, "to take"; GA,
ekimu, "seize," "clutch";
maḥâru, "to receive"; DIB,
TI, TIM, "to take."

zhang, "an abundant, heavy dew," "water stopped in its flow because of silt." G'A G'E, "overflow"; G'AL, "to flow"; GA (GIN), kalû, "to close," "dam up" (= LAL, kalû).

zhang, "urgent," "walking fast."

GIN, (云), alâku, "to walk"; = DIM.

jang, "the pith of the pith-paper plant"; jang-tzŭ, "a letter or dispatch, as distinguished from the envelope." GIN, šipru, "a letter"; šapāru, "to send"; cp. the expression gan duppê;" KIN, do.

zhang, "to make a clamour," "cry out," "scold and bluster."

GU, "to speak and scold" (šagâmu); rigmu, "outery"; GA, šanânu, "to quarrel," apâlu, "to answer"; našû, "to lift up" (the voice); MÊ, qâlu, "to cry out;" DUG, "to speak."

zhang, "a bow bent."

GIN, "to bend"; GAM, krümmen, beugen; cp. BAN, "a bow."

zhang, "earth," "mould," "soil,"
"a place," "region," "land,"
"acountry," "a mound, hillock."

zhang, "to cede," "yield," "give GIN,
way to," "recede from one's "v
rights, waive them." GAM,

GI, and GA, mâtum; KINGI, KENGI = KI + GI = Chinese kia, "dwelling" + zhang, "land," "home-land"; GA, nakâmu, "to heap up"; MA-DA, "land"; MA, do.; DU, DUL, "mound."

GIN, GA, "biegen," "beugen," "wenden," "zurückkehren." GAM, kanâšu, "to submit." *

Under Jăng, old sound, ning, Cantonese ying = GIN, we have zhăng, "as, according to," "as before," "just so," "thus," "and, and also"; cp. GIM, dialectic DAM, "like, as"; GIN, kiâm, "thus"; zhăng, "to drag or lead along," "to urge along," "to push"; cp. (云) GIN, alâku, "to go"; babâlu, "to bring"; GA, 'âru, "to send," "urge on"; dayû, "to push against," "thrust"; zhăng, "happiness"; "to approach to"; cp. GIN, bibil libbi, "the desire of the heart"; GIN, kênu, "right," "good"; GA or GI, dayû, "to approach to"; and zhăng, "old roots," "plants cut down," "shoots"; cp. GIN, "reeds," "stubble."

JAO (old sounds, nio, niok, no, nok, not = nga, ngak, ga, gak, gat?).

zhao, "plenty to eat," "abundant," "satisfied," "an overplus" = G'A, G'È G'U, (>>) G'A-L; NAMG'E, duhdu, G'EGAL, nuhšu, "abundance," "plenty"; zhao, "crooked," "distorted," "to wrench," "pervert," "weak," "lithe," "flexible"; cp. GIN, "to bow," "bend," "turn"; GAM, beugen, krümmen; GI, sahru, "little." Zhao also means "to disperse," "to disturb," and "to break"; cp. GA, nakâru, "to be hostile"; šabâru, "to break"; G'UL ((-)), limnu, "wicked," "hostile"; zhao, "grass," "rushes," "stubble or thorns cut for fuel," = GIN, qanû, "reeds and rushes"; zhao, "covering of cloth wrapped round a scabbard"; GA, sahâru, "to go round," and caus. "put round"; zhao, "short worms, a squirming motion," and zhao, "to wind around," "to go about," "to environ," "to compass" = GA, sahâru; zhao, "to give or bring trouble to"; "incommode," "embarrass"; "to infest," as banditti a region = GA, nakâru, "to be hostile"; GI, mahâru,

^{*} Cp. yi, "to make a bow," "cede," "give way to."

- "to oppose"; G'ul, lamânu, limnu; zhao, "to pacify" = GIN, GAM, "to bend" i.e., "reduce"; or GA, pašâlju, "to quiet," "satisfy"; zhao, "a well-trained ox," "yielding," "obliging"; GIN, "to bend" (GU, GUD is ox, bull); יף. אַלֶּהָלָּ, אָלָהָלָּ, and the Syriac cognates.
- JÉ (old sounds, nia, niak = nya, nyak = nga, ngak = GA, GAG, GAL).
- zhö, "to provoke," "irritate," "to produce," "elicit," "to induce," "attract," "bring on"; cp. GA, šanânu, "to rival," "quarrel," GAL, "to make," "afford"; GAL, "to open" = MAL, do.; GA, GAGA, šakânu, "to place," "make," "produce."
- JEH (old sounds, niet, nit. In Cantonese it and yat; Amoy jiat and jit; Chifu i and yeh. (GID?)
- zhö, "hot," "heat"; "to warm" = GI, "fire."
- zhih, "the sun," "a day" = UDU, UDA; that is, I think, GUDU (GUDI-BIR) and GUDA. Another word for day is *cheu*, old sound, tbk = dak, the D- form of GUD; cp. DUG, "to melt."
- zhö, "to burn," "heat," "sear"; cp. GI in GI-BIL, "fire," "burning"; GI-BIL-LAL = napâḥu, "to blaze up."
- zhö, "to soak or dip in liquor"; cp. zhu, "to immerse"; zhu, "to stain," "dye," "dip"= GI, maḥâşu, "to dip"; GʻA, GʻE, ṣirpɛ́tu; from ṣarâpu, "to dye" = GA; GAGA raḥâşu, "to flood" = MAMA; cp. Zarephath, Sarepta, Dye-town. Dub, "to dip," implies a dialectic GUB or GUD; cp. GUB, "to be fixed," dialectic DUB.
 - JEU (old sounds, nio, not), Cantonese yau, Amoy jiu, Chifu yiu.
- zheu, "flexible"; "pliant like twigs"; "tender, as budding plants"; vid. supra; "give rest to" = GA, pašâhu; NA, utulu, "to rest"; MU-NA, iršu, "bed."
- zheu, "to tread out grain"; "trample over"; GIN, alâku. So zheu, "a step"; "to step." GIR, MERI, kabâsu, "to tread, trample;" šĉpu, "the foot"; kibsu, "a path."
- zheu, "to eat," = KU (GU), akâlu, "to eat"; \models [][$\not\models$, GUD, U, "to eat."
- zheu, "mixed" = GI, maḥâlu, infudit, miscuit.

JOH (old sound, nok = GAG?).

- zho, "pliable," "slender," "fragile"; "weak," "feeble," "languishing"; GIN, "to bend"; and GIG, marşu, "ill," "sick," "weak."
- zho, "the cat-tail rush, from which mats are woven" = GIN, qanû, "rush."
- zho, "united" = GI, sanâqu, "to connect," "join"; GI-š, "OI-š, "one."

zho, "as," "like" = GIM, DIM:

"This," "the one" = G'u, G'ê, annu, "this."

As a conditional particle, "if," "perhaps," "should it be '= G'U, G'E (DE), the optative prefix of verbs in Accadian (cp. Greek, $\epsilon i \gamma d\rho$)

zho, an old name for the cuticle of the bamboo; a slender variety of the bamboo (Bambusa latifolia): cp. GIN, qanû, "reed." In old times, people prepared the leaves for writing on; the culms furnished pencil handles: cp. the expression qan duppê, "reed of a tablet"; and the Chinese kan, "culm of the bamboo"; "stick, rod, shaft," etc.

JÜ (old sounds, no, not, niok = GA, GAT, NGAK?). Chifu, $y\ddot{u} = GU$, GI?.

- zhu, conjunction of comparison; "as, like," "as if," "according to"; "if," "perhaps"; "and," "also," etc., "to go to." A personal pronoun, "you." Cp. GIM, "like"; TU- in TUKUNDI (DU-) "if"; ZA, ZAE, "you" (= G'U, G'E, "this person before me"); GIN, alâku, "to go"; TU, eribu, "to enter"; DU, "to go"; GIN, dahû, "to go to," "approach."
- zhu, "intertwisted as roots," "interlaced," "entangled"=GIN, sanâķu,
 "to connect"; GIN, wenden, drehen. "To receive," "to take"=
 GI, ṣabâtu, "to take"; "to eat much," "to gormandize"=GU,
 akâlu, "to covet"=GI, biblu, "desire" sunķu, "want"; "pliant,"
 "flexible"=GIN, "to bend," whence, also, "dried, as vegetables,"
 from the bending, curling, shrivelling effect of heat; "to die,"
 "to wither away"; 2 R. 39, 42 e. GAM, kapâṣu פּבָּבָּב, contraxit,
 clausit, os manum, Nif. contraxit se ad moriendum, mortuus est;
 i.d. בَבْבُـــ; GI, simtu, "fate," GAZ, "to slay"; GUL, abâtu, "to
 perish": "to conjecture," "deliberate"=GIN, "to incline, or
 bring (babâlu) the mind to a thing."

- zhu, "the epidermis, or scurf skin of the bamboo"; GIN, qanû.
- zhu, "the learned, scholars," etc.; GI, taqânu הַלָּהָן, "to fit," "order," "arrange," "prepare," "establish"; הַלָּהָן, "ornament," "arrangement," "instruction," "correction"; DI, "to judge"; ZU, older za, "to know," "to learn."
- zhu, "to immerse," "moisten," "wet," "damp," "to urinate"; DUB (GUB), "to dip,;" (G)A, "water"; G'A-L, GUR, "to flow"; MÊ, "water"; DÊ, "to irrigate"; KAŠ (GAŠ), šunātu, urine. "Mild," "forbearing," "patient," "enduring" = GIN, "bending," "bowing," "yielding," righteous," "friendly"; GAM, "submissive."
- zhu, "chattering"; GI, nabû? GI, GIGI, apâlu? GU, GUGU, šasû, ragâmu, "to speak, cry out"; DUG and GUDÊ, "to speak."
- zhu,* "a short coat," "soft, close-fitting spencer," "jerkin"; GI, sabâtu, taqânu; GAD, kitû, "cloth"; (G)A, "clothes"; MA, nalbašu, "clothing"; DU-L, "to cover"; TU, TÊ, "clothes."
- zhu, "milk," "milky," "the breasts," "the nipple," "to suck," "to nurse"; GA, šizbu, "milk"; tulû, "the breast," mamma (►∭६); UMME-GA-LAL, mušeniqtu, "nurse" = Chinese mu + zhu + liao.
- zhu, personal pronoun your, you; GA? = ZA, GU = ZU; vid. zhu, No. 1. DAM, "thou"; KU, "thou"; MÊ, MÊN, do.
- zhu, "a child still at breast," "suckling"; vid. supra.
- zhu, "to stain, to dye," "dip"; GI, maḥâṣu, "to dip"; Brünnow, No. 2461. ĠA, G'E, ṣirpêtu, ibid., 4066. GA, maḥâlu; cf. ברול, infudit, miscuit (Talmud). "To hold up a thing, as when worshipping," "to raise" = GA, naṣâ, "to raise," "lift."

JUH (old sounds, nip and nok = GIB, DIB, GAG, ? Chifu, yü, tsü.)

- zhu, "to enter," "to go into," "to penetrate," "to recede from view,"

 "to take in," "receive, as fees," "to put into," "according to,"

 "an entrance." TU, TUTU, "to enter"; šU + TUTU = êkimu,

 hand + enter

 "to take." But GA (GI, GIN)

 "to take," and daḥû, "to draw near," and têbû, "to come to,"
- * In Canton \ddot{u} , Amoy ju, Shanghai $s\ddot{v}$. With \ddot{u} , cp. i, "clothes." $S\ddot{v}$ answers to Accadian SIG, "clothes."
- Cp. further [E], MU = şubâtu, "dress"; , GU (or TIG = TUG?), nalbašu; [E], read as TUB, TUG, lubuštu, șubâtu.

"attack"; and (\leftrightarrows) , GIN, is "to walk, go." May not GIB = DU, "to go," = TU? Or is the word GI, GIG, "sunset"? The Chifu form tsii points to DU. TE = dahh, "to draw near," implies dialectic GI (GIB) = TU; and DIB, sahh, "to take," implies GIB (ch). DIM = GIM, "like").

zhu, "insult," "dishonour," "rail at," "defile, debauch," "shamed," "disgraced," "defiled"; cp. GA, maḥâlu, and syriac 'ethmeḥel, humiliatus est; mĕḥîlâ, imbecillis, infirmus, tenuis, humilis, miser. אַבְּיְהַבָּא, humiliavit, exinanivit; GU, ragâmu, šagâmu, "to scold, rail at"; GI = ṣaḥru, "little"; and GAGA, "to dye, stain" (metaph.).

zhu, "damp," "steaming," "hot"; GI, in GIBIL, "fire."

zhu, "to pity" = GA, maḥâru? GI, "to bend and relax," "incline towards"; GIN, kênu, "righteous, friendly."

zhu, "adorned, beautified with colours"; cp. GI, taqânu, ornavit, and zhu, "to dye," supra; "gay," "pretty"; "lustrous as a gem"; cp. GI, "fire," "bright"; = ZA, ZAL.

zhu, "a felt cover;" "mattrass," "cushion;" "coverlet" etc.;
GAD, kitû, "cloth," etc.

zhu, "suckers," "shoots," "sprouts," "rushes"; GIN, "reeds."

zhu, "to eat much" = GA, šabû, "to be satisfied, filled."

zheu, "flesh," "meat"; "pulp or edible part of fruits"; "fat," zhu, "fleshy"; uzu, "flesh," and "fat."

zhu, nien, } "twenty"; the second form resembles Accadian NIŠ, "twenty."

JUI (old sounds, nui, nai, nût, nap; Chifu, yòh and tsur).

sui, "throat-band of a cap," "to bind" (G'AR, "a chain," "to bind"; KUR, "to bind"; DIM "a cord," "bond"); SA, riksu, do.

sui, "prolific," "luxuriant" (G'A, G'U, "to abound"); sī, sīg, "to pour out," "fill."

zhui, "sap," "juice"; cp. GA, "milk"; LU-GUD,* "blood"; G'AL, "to flow"; GUR, "to flow."

* The term $\leftarrow \langle \hat{Y} |$, LUGUD, *sarku, "clear blood" (Haupt, helles Blut, Eiter), is compounded of the signs \leftarrow , (G)Uš, dâmu, "blood," and \hat{Y} , BABBAR, pişû, candidus. May not LU-GUD = LUGGUD = LUG' (LAG') ibbu, ellu, "white," "bright" + GUD, "blood"; ep. the Chinese mich, old sound mit, Cantonese mit, Amoy biat, "blood," "gore." MID and BAD are also values of \leftarrow .

- zhui, "plants growing thick and pendent"; GIN, GI, biegen; GUB, sich niederlassen (DUB, dial.).
- zhui, "small plants budding," "springing;" GI, GIN, qanû; "a bank or brink"=GA, GU, "something lifted up, high"; KUR, "mountain."
- zhui, "handle of chisel," "haft of ax or cutting tool" = GIN, "reed," "rod"; cp. BAL, BAR, and perhaps GAD, "hand"; G'AD, hattu, "staff."
- zhui, "perspicacious," "clever," "bright and quick of perception"; "shrewd," "discreet," "astute;" "divine sagacity of sages," "profound;" zu, "to know."
- zhui, "sharp-pointed," "acute"; "peaked," "piercing," "lance-like"; "ardent," "valiant," "quickwitted," "subtle," "keen," "shrewd," "resolute," "earnest in"; GIN, "a pointed reed"; GI, "fire"; GI, kânu, "to be fixed and firm." "Small," "insignificant," as a spear's point or a peccadillo = GI, saljru, "small."
- zhui, "to implicate others," "to lay blame on one" = GI, maḥâlu. "To give over one's duty to another"; "to shirk one's work"; "apologize and decline" = GIN, "to bow and yield." "To evade and shove off"; "to retract," "draw back" = GI, târu; "to entrust a thing to one" = GA, GI, paqâdu, "to put in charge," entrust with."

JUN (old sounds, non and nien). Chifu yuen. Primary forms, GAN, GIN?

- zhun, "to move," "wriggle as a worm," "squirm," "a kind of snake"; GIN, "to bend."
- zhun, "the intercalary moon"; "something extra, as a sixth finger."

 Accadian zu, "to add to"; "to increase"=su. EN zu="the moon god."
- zhun, "to moisten," "bedew," "to enrich," "to fatten," "to benefit,"

 "to increase"; cp. GIN, maḥâlu, "infudit"; G'AL, "to flow";

 GUR, "to flow"; G'A, G'E, GU, "abundance"; ZU, "gold,"

 "silver"; DAG' and ZU, ruddû, "to increase," "add to"; UZU,

 'flesh."

JUNG (old sounds, nung, niung,), GUN, GUG? Chifu yung.

- zhung, "down" (of plants, hair, or feathers), "woollen cloth," etc.;
 GIN, "soft and flexible"; KIŠI, "hair"; GAD, kitû, "cloth."
- zhung, "to aid," "oppose," "push away"; GI, daljû, maljâru, etc.; KUR, "brother," "helper." zhung zhung, "thick," "abundant"; G'U, "abundance"; KIŠ, "multitude"; KIŠI, "hair;" cp. Ps. xl, 12.
- zhung, "a war horse"; KUR, KURA, "horse"; KIŠ, do.
- zhung, "fine soft fur," "down on skin," "birds," etc.; "downy," "full of feathers"; vid. supr.
- zhung, "luxuriant growth of plants," "collected thick together," "to push," "a deer's horns"; vid. supr.
- zhung, "dishevelled hair"; vid. supr.
- zhung, "indolent," "easy-going," "careless" = GIN, "bowing and bending," "reclining"; KUŠ, "to rest," "neglect."
- zhung, "thick wadded clothes," "well-clothed"; vid. supra, TUB, TUG, "clothes."
- zhung, "gone home," as officers off duty; GA, "to return"; "a calling and its duties," "affairs," "occupation," "mixed up" = GA paqâdu; GI, maljâlu, miscuit.
- zhung, "to push," GI, GA, $dah\hat{u}$, "to push"; "to beat," "to pound" = $\dot{s}ab\hat{a}\dot{t}u$; "to stuff," "to fill" = $mal\hat{u}$; "to receive" = $\dot{s}ab\hat{a}tu$.
- zhung, fu, "to push a cart back and tip up the body"; $dah\hat{u}$, "to push"; "thrust," 'crowd," = $san\hat{a}qu$.

JWA (old sound, na = ga; Cantonese ya; Amoy ju).

zhwa, in Shensi, "to push," "crowd on one" = GA, daḥû; Peking, "rumpled," "wrinkled"; GIN, "to turn," "twist," etc.

JWAN (old sounds, nwan and nioan = ngan. Chifu yung. Primitive GAN?).

- zhwan, "to rumple," "rub between hands in washing," "push back"; GIN, GA.
- zhwan, "seam of a garment," "selvedge or binding in border of skirt," "coarse cloth," "to plait or braid"; GI, GA, saḥaru, etc., vid. supra.

zhwan, "to increase from small beginnings, as growing hair," "soft," "weak," "to withdraw and then increase"; vid supra.

zhwan, "timidly," "fearful," "cowardly"; GAN, târu, "to turn back;" GAM, "to submit."

zhwan, "soft," "delicate," "weak," "tender," "ductile," "pliable," "yielding," "limber," "lithe," "no fixed principles," "infirm of purpose," "to stretch"; vid. supra.

zhwan, "the crawling or wriggling of worms": vid. supra.

zhwan, "a variety of opaque, whitish quartz, like massive chalcedony, with pieces of carnelian interspersed in it." (NA)ZA-GIN, uknû, a similar valued stone; GIN, ša uknî elli, "of bright uknû stone." Cp. also za, NA, and DIG, "stone."

I have thought it worth while to follow this particular sound right through the Chinese lexicon, in order to give an example of the highly artificial uniformity to which the old language has been reduced in the Mandarin dialect; as well as to make it clear to all who will have the patience to look through these dry lists, that Chinese vocables in their modern disguise are still susceptible, and in most instances without forcing, of comparison with the non-Semitic terms which we find in the Assyrian syllabaries. It looks very much as if "the pretended language of Accad" were the forerunner of the genuine language of Peking.

The lexicon, as we have seen, invariably refers the modern Mandarin I to an older N. A comparison of the Chinese dialects, however, suggests that the forms with initial N are rather by-forms which co-existed side by side with the I (G) forms. Take, for instance, the term ya, "tooth," which presupposes a primitive GA, and accordingly appears in the dialects of Canton, Amoy, and Shanghai, as nga, ga, nga, respectively. It is natural to compare this term with i, ni, "to cut teeth in old age"; a character which in those dialects is pronounced ngei, gé, and ni. If we find it hard to believe in this case that the Mandarin i or ni is older than the stronger forms of the more conservative dialects, why should we suppose that nin is older than jan? Prof. Douglas informs me that nin is Japanese for jan, "man"; but the Accadian NI, NIN, "man," "lord," which existed side by side with GIN, "man," show that we cannot safely pronounce offhand that the one form is older than the other. This is one of those facts which rather incline me to suppose that the Accadian language,

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like the Chinese, comprised a number of dialects, and was spread over a wider area than is generally imagined.

To return: the form which has undergone the greatest possible abrasion, viz., i, recalls the fact that the Accadian GI-GIM, a sort of demon, becomes ê-kimmu, on passing into the Assyrian tongue; and in Accadian itself, it is probable that EN, "lord," is worn down from an original GEN, just as Aš, "one," = GIŠ (GAŠ), "one." Under I the Mandarin lexicon gives some hundred and fifty homophones, most of which may be reduced to older forms with initial G or M. Thus the Mandarin i or ni, "little," "feeble," "the young and delicate," "to benefit," "to distinguish," "to glance at"; which is pronounced ngei, gé, ni, in the cited dialects, presupposes a form with initial G on the one hand, and a form with initial M (N) on the other. Now this is what we actually find in the Accadian GI, sahru, "little," "young," of which the weak form would be MI (MA, MU); cp. the Mandarin mi, "fine," "small"; mi, "small," "delicate;" and, with N = M, nun, "small."* The Mandarin yu, "young," "delicate," which also presupposes an initial G(gu = Accadian GI, "little," "young,"), is thus ultimately a double of i, ni, "little," "young." We may further compare ya or a, "second," "inferior," "junior," and the Accadian A, mâru, "young," "son." The diversity which marks the Chinese vocabulary is greatly diminished when the words are reduced to their oldest accessible forms, which are given, ex hypothesi, in the Accadian. The modification of originally identical forms, and a consequent multiplication of synonymous expressions; in other words, the continual evolution of new terms from the somewhat straitened stock of primitive language, is precisely what we expect, and what we find, in Chinese as compared with its Accadian archetype.

The other meanings assigned to the character *i*, *ni*, confirm these views. "To benefit," surely answers very well to GA (GI), *šullumu*, GA, *pašálju*, and MU, "to give," MUN, "benefit" (see p. 75 infr.), and GAR, MAR, *šaráku*, "to give"; while "to distinguish,"

^{*} I have already mentioned that forms like KINGI, "the country" or "homeland," imply an Accadian nasalisation of initial g, exactly corresponding to what we see in the Chinese nga, ngei, etc. We may thus explain the Accadian NANGA, Assyrian nagû, "district," "country." NA = MA = GA, mâtu, "land"; so that NANGA = NA (or NI) + GA (nga); cp. Chinese ni, "earth," "soil."

"to glance at," recall 1GI, "the eye," dial. 1DÊ, and G'UN, "to lift up the eyes," and DI, "to judge," i.e., discern between causes. The Accadian sign for "eye," ()-, has the syllabic value si, which, as an Accadian word, means "life" (= z1). Now, as (Y- also means "to see" (amâru, naplusu), and living and seeing are associated ideas, it is probable that šī was also the pronunciation of the ideogram in the sense of "to see" (cp. za, zu, "to know"). The Mandarin and Cantonese i, "black and shining," may be referred to GI, GIG, "black." Mandarin i, "fit and right," is GIN, kênu. I, ni, "coloured clouds," i.e., "the rainbow"; "coloured," "variegated"; answers to GA, sarâpu, "to dye"; G'A, G'Ê, sirpêtu. I, "long," may be compared with GID, "long"; i, "according to," "as," "like," with GIM, "like"; i, "dirt," with GI, "earth"; i, "arrack," "to drink," with GA-š, GE-š, "strong drink," and (G)IMA, "thirst"; i, "to move," "transmit," "despatch," with GIN, GI, "to go," "to send"; i, "great," with GI-S, GA-L, "great"; i, "to give," with GA-R, "to give"; GUN, "tribute"; MU, "to give"; i, "to induce," "cause," with GA and MA, "to make," "produce"; GAR and GAL, do.; i, "joyful," "satisfied," with GA, pašâhu, šabû; i, "sweets," "to feed," with KU, matqu, "sweetness"; KU, "to eat"; i, "to kill," "destroy"; "to push out, as a shoot comes up"; "distant," "remote," with GI, šabâtu, "to kill"; GA-z, "to kill"; GU-L, "to destroy"; I, aṣû, "to shoot forth"; GID, "distant"; i, "to retire," with GI, târu; "to raise," with I, nâdu, "to exalt," and GA, našû, "to raise." I, "the glancing of the eye" recalls 1GI; i, "right," "equity," GIN, kênu kêttu; i, "thought," "inclination," "will," "motive," GIN, bibil libbi; and so also i, ni, "to consider," "intend." I, in the three dialects i, gi, ni, "right," "friendly"; i, "easy," "at ease," "pleased"; i, "to change"; i, "to arrange"; i, "different," "foreign," "to oppose"; i, "to prostrate," "overthrow"; i, "toil," "affliction" (GI, GIG, mursu); i, "loquacious" (GU, "to speak); i, "to talk in one's sleep" = ngei, gi, ni, in the three dialects; i, "to govern," "reduce to order"; i, dial. ngei, gé, ni, "to reach a place," "go to" (GA, GI, daljû); and others of the characters pronounced i in Mandarin, will all be found to correspond to the Accadian terms with initial G with which we started (p. 53). The Accadian I, kamû, "to bind," "lead captive," is like Chinese i, "to drag away," "lead a tied animal"; and I -I, parâku, answers to i, "to seclude," "keep close," ì, "to separate," "divide." In fact, almost every term in this Chinese series of homophones is clearly reducible to an Accadian

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original with initial G. In dealing with the letters y and j, I have already shown that Chinese terms with these sounds as initials correspond to Accadian terms with an initial G (M, N, D, Z). In what follows, it will become abundantly evident that, just as in Accadian we find cognates with initial M answering to the G-forms; so in Chinese we have whole series of M- terms corresponding to those which once had initial G (\dot{n} G).

The letter W is not originally independent of M in Chinese. In Accadian there appears to have been a fluctuation between the two sounds, and the transition from one to the other was easy. In Assyrian, an Accadian M may become first W, and then a mere breathing: e.g., Domu-zi = Duwuzi = Du'uzu, Dûzu, Tammuz. In Chinese we find duplicates of the M-words under W; thus, ma, "frog," and wa, "frog"; min, "frogs." In the Cantonese wa (MA) and nga (GA), which answer to the Mandarin wa, we see an evident trace of that transition from the guttural to the labial which is so marked a feature of Accadian phonology.

I. The Accadian MA, nabû, "to name, call"; MU, zakaru, "to speak"; MA, MU, šumu, zikru, "name"; ME, qâlu, "to cry out"; qûlu, "cry," answer not only to Chinese ma, "to rail at, scold" (old sound, ma, mak); mai, "to brag, speak angrily" (mai, ma, mat); mang (mung), "a jargon of dialects and sounds" (=Acc. GUGU, "to speak"); muh (mot, mok), "to designate," "to name" (Fuhchau múk, Chifu mu); ming, (mang, ming) Swatow meng, mia, "a name," "to name"; mi (mit), "to repeat"; mi, "to speak quietly in a low tone"; were (under MU), "the parrot, as a talking bird"; mu (mu, mot, mok), "to call upon the people to do," "to invite"; ming, "the cry of a bird or animal," "to sound"; miu (miu, mok), "extravagant words of a madman" (Chifu niu=nyu=ngu=gu, "to speak"); meu, "to low," "to bellow" (=GU); moh, "to speak erroneously"; mu, mo, "consultation." These Accadian terms also represent wa (=MA), "wanton, enticing sounds," "to wheedle, coax"; wa, "the prattle of children"; wan, "verbose" (wan, ngwan, man); wan, "to tell to," "a noise" (wen, men, mún, won); zưän, "the lips"; "speech," "talk"; wang, (wung mung), "to scoff at," "accuse falsely"; wang, "incoherent words"; "to talk without regard to facts"; wăng (wung yung MUG GUG), "lowing of cattle"; wéi, "to say," "to declare" (wéi, ngwéi, ngek, nget, mi, mít); wéi, "to answer smartly," "an answer"; wéi, "the yelp of a terrified dog"; wéi, "to address, inform," "to speak to or report," "to say, to speak of," "to call,"

"to denominate"; wéi, "to talk in one's sleep"; wéi, "to exaggerate"; wu, "a sigh," "a groan" (ngo, wo, wok, wot, mo, mot); wu, "to calumniate"; wu, "to talk loud," "to bawl," "to brag"; "wu, "a sound in singing"; wu, "a large parrot that can talk"; wu, "to flatter"; and uh (under WUH, old sounds wok, wot, ok, ot, mot), "crowing or cackling of fowls."

Here also may be added the Accadian MU, šiptu, "spell, charm, exorcism"; cp. Chinese mi, "to bewitch"; wu, "a sorceress," "to perform incantations," "magic"; mi, "occult," "mysterious"; mi, "to whisper"; mo, "a demon." EN, also defined šiptu, is probably softened from GEN (GAN). INIM-INIM, another synonym, may be compared with nan, "to mutter, perform incantations" (old sound nam); nan, "incessant talk, gabble."

- 2. The Accadian Mu, işu, "wood," "tree," which is a dialectic form of GI-š, is thus developed in Mandarin: mu (old sounds mot, mok), Cantonese mòk, mút, the generic term for "wood," "a tree," "wooden"; meu (mu, mút), an old name for the quince tree; meu, "a lance," "spear," Chifu mu; ma, "head-board (of a bed)"; man, a species of thorny tree; man (mun), Cantonese mún, a species of fir; the heart-wood of the fir; mao (mo, mok), a species of low palm like a Thrinax; méi (mi, mai, mík, mít, met), in Cantonese mui and mi, in Shanghai mé, "the flowering almond"; méi, "a small tree," "a shrub," "stalk," "stick"; miéh (mít, met), Cantonese mít, "lath-like rods"; mu mien, "the cotton tree" (min); mi (mit, mik), "the eagle-wood" (Aquilaria or Aloexylon) of Eastern India; ming, "the heart-wood of a tree," "name of a tree"; mo (mak, mat), Chifu mù, "end of a branch," "outmost twigs" mu (mu, mot, mok), Chitu mu, a tree that grew on Duke Cheu's grave, probably a beech; mang (mong), a tree like the locust (Sophora), Cantonese mung, presupposing Mug. To these add uh, "a stump or trunk without leaves or branches" (see WUH); wu, "a wood suitable for arrows"; wu, "several species of trees"; wéi, "a tree that furnishes a yellow dye," "mast of a vessel," "a short spear"; wan, "a timber like pine." The dialectic forms of the Chinese seem to indicate MÜG (=MIG) or MÜD (=MID) for the primitive form of Accadian MU.
- 3. In Accadian we find the following terms for night, darkness, sunset, shadow, eclipse: GE, mûŝu, "night"; GIG, GIGGA, ditto, also ṣalmu, "dark," "black," "shadow," "image," and eribu, "to go in, set (of the sun)," GIG-GA, eribu ša šamši, "setting of the sun"; ANA GIG, (or M1?), atalû, "eclipse"; GIŠ-GIG (MI?), şillu, "shadow,"

"shade;" and all these terms are represented by (EX, GA, GE, GIG, or, with a phonetic complement, (** FYYY*, GIG-GA. Besides these, we have (EE (EE, GIGIG, iklitu, "darkness," also pronounced KUKKI (a modification of G to K, of which Chinese presents plenty of instances); KUKKI, eţûţu, "darkness"; GE-A G'U, iṣṣur muši, "the bird of night," also called in Assyrian salamdu; GIGIG, da'ummatu, "gloom," "mourning"; KUKKI, du'ûmu, "to mourn," and GIG-GA, pitû, "to open." Now the ordinary value of the sign (\subsetex, as a syllable in the Assyrio-Babylonian writing, is not GIG or GE, but MI. I do not believe that this value is arbitrary; it rather points to the use of this sound in Accadian as a by-form of GE, GIG, such as we should expect from the analogy of GA, dialectic MA, GU, dialectic MU, and so on. And this inference is confirmed by the Chinese, where we not only find YE, "night," which represents GE, "night," but also the following cognates of an Accadian MI (MU, ME): mu, "evening," "sunset" (old sounds, mu, mot, mok), Chifu, mu; mu, "evening," "dusk" (see MOH, old sounds, mak, mat), and under the same head, mo, "dark," "obscure," "black;" mo, "dark," "cloudy," "night," mo, "still," "silent," mo, "a screen"; ming, "dark," "obscure," "doleful," "night-like"; ming, "the sun obscured," "night," "dark"; ma (ma, mak), in a Cantonese phrase, "dim," "obscure"; ma, "dim sight"; mai, "to secrete, cover, conceal" (mai, ma, mat); man, "dull, half-shut eyes"; man, "a curtain," "screen"; măn (mún), "to cover"; măn mak lu, "a dark unlighted road"; mang (old sound mung), "the sun obscured"; mao (mo, mok), "the covering of animals or birds, hair, fur, feathers," "herbage, the covering of the earth"; mao, "a covering for the head, a cap"; méi (mi, mai, mík, mít), Shanghai, mé, "soot," "charcoal," "embers"; méi, "mouldy or black spots"; méi, "no sun," "dark"; méi, "smutty grain"; méi, "colour-blind"; meu (mu, mút), "dim," "indistinct vision"; mi, "beclouded"; mi-mi măng-măng, "a thick shade"; "overcast," "cloudy,"—a very instructive phrase: mi (mai, mei, mi), Shanghai and Chifu, mi, obviously reproduces (mi (eme sal?), and mang (mong), see MUNG Cantonese mung (= MUG) means "foggy," "gloomy," as in mang mang t'ien, "foggy sky," i.e., gloomy weather. Mang is also, the sun below the horizon, and the moon about to set, and to cover, and blind, and dark: jih yüeh măng-măng, "the sun and moon are darkened," (ANA MI, "heaven-darkness or eclipse"). Mi is also a riddle, an enigma; cp. MI-A-GIN-GIN = ha'idu, riddling (?); חידה, חוד We

also have miéh (mít, met) fire gone out, to put out a light; mien, "dim vision," "to sleep;" mih (mít, mík), "hidden," "occult"; mih, "still," "silent," "rest"; mih, "to cover," "a curtain"; min, "the autumnal sky"; min, "turbid," "foul"; min, "obscure"; ming hai, "the unknown and dark sea."

- 4. With GIG (M1?), "image," "likeness," cp. miao (mio, mok), "to limn, sketch, copy"; mao, "form," "like," "to draw a likeness"; mu (mu, mot, mok), "a mould," "a pattern," "the figure"; mien, "the face, visage, front."
- 5. GIGGA (GIGA), in the sense of pith, "to open," corresponds with măn (old sound, mún), Cantonese mún, "a gate," "an opening"; măng (mong, măng), Swatow mé and meng, "budding," "sprouting," "to germinate," "incipient"; măng, "to begin"; mao, "morning"; méi, "to cut open"; wéi, "doors"; and, as "to carve, engrave," is included in the idea of opening (TIDD, Exodus xxviii, 36; I Kings vii, 36), ming, "to carve." Also wa, "a hole in the ground"; wah, "to scoop out"; wan, "to carve"; wo, "a hole"; wu, "to excavate"; wān, "to cut asunder, divide, break," etc.
- 6. The Accadian MU, zikuru, "a male," also ME, is repeated in the Chinese meu, mu, "the male of quadrupeds, of a few plants, and birds," "stallion," "bull"; meu, "a screw or bolt"; cp. also wing (wung, yung = MUM, i.c., MU-MU, or MUN, or MUG; and GUN or GUG), "a husband," the Cantonese yung, Chifu wung; wéi, "to love women," "to hug" (old sounds, ngek = GIG, mi, mít); wéi, "pivots on which a door turns"; wéi, "obscene," "to debauch"; wu, "obscene," "to defile" (ngo, mo); wu, "to caress, love."
- 7. The Accadian MU, rabû, "great," "strong" (eme sal, for GIŠ, as usual); MAĞ, malılı, (a loan-word), rabû, "great," MAR (= GAL), ditto, answer to meu, "to be or make great"; meu, mao, "vigorous," "strong"; meu, "to surpass"; meu, "luxuriant," as a forest; min, "strong," "robust"; mah (mít), Cantonese mat, Shanghai mak, "brawny"; mai (ma, mat), "to exert strength"; mai, "to surpass, exceed"; man lih (lik = Accadian LIG), "herculean strength"; mang-mang, "great," "crowded," "to become great") măng, "great," "eminent," "large"; mao, "eminent," "excelling in force"; mo, mu, Chifu mù, "ample," "great" (old sounds, mak, mat); măng, "corpulent," "large," "fat"; cp. also wan (man), "a number," "myriad," "many"; wang, "great"; wéi, "lofty," "grand"; wéi, "vast," like the ocean; wu, "strong," "warlike."

- 8. The Accadian Mu, šarru, "king" (= GI, šarru), may be compared with mu, "shepherd," in the phrase tien mu, "Shepherd of Heaven," an ancient term for a ruler. In Accadian, kings are also called SIB, the Babylonian rê'û, "shepherd." See MUH (old sounds, mot, mok), Fuhchau múk, Chifu mu; under which head we have also mu, "the eye," "a director," "principal man," "leader"; mu, "majestic"; mu-mu, "royal"; wang (wung, mung), "a king," "a title for monarchs before B.C. 220; wéi, "majesty," "august," "lordly," "to be awed by majesty," "awful," "imperious" (cp. Accadian ME-LAM, Assyrian mêlammu, "majesty" = Chinese wéi, "majesty" + lan, old sound lam, "splendour," "brilliance"); wéi, "the throne," "to assume regal sway," "to begin to reign"; wèi, "to dread, venerate, stand in awe of," "awfulness," "awe"; wu, "majestic," "fierce-looking." The Assyrian limu, limmu, usually rendered 'year of office,' 'Archontate,' may be a loan-word; cp. Chinese lin (old sound, Lím), Amoy lím, "near," "connected with," "supporting," "assisting, as a minister his prince." Then "ina lime, So-and-so," means "in the Associateship (with the king) of So-and-so." Cp. also Chinese li, "magistrate," "a deputy," "to govern." The term limu does not seem to contain the Accadian MU, săttu, "a year," the Chinese nien, that is, NGIN, GI.
- 9. The Accadian Mu, Me, šamû, "heaven," which is the M-form of GI-š, "heaven," may be compared with min, "the autumnal sky"; ming, in the expression tsing-ming, "heaven" (= azure + dark); ma (horse),* as an emblem of heaven; mai, "a misty, foggy sky"; man, "boundless," expanding," as clouds; mi-mi măng-măng, "overcast," "cloudy" mo, "dark," "cloudy," etc. I think the term means the dark sky, the cloudy canopy or curtain that covers the world; and hence is related to GE, MI, "dark," and their cognates already considered.
- 10. The Accadian MU, saltum, "battle," may be connected with ma, "to strike"; mi, "to destroy, put down"; mi, "soldiers flying"; mo (ma), "to destroy"; miu, "to oppose"; miéh, "to exterminate"; miéh, "to beat"; miao, "to strike"; wan, "to draw the bow";

^{*} The Chinese ma, "horse," as an M-form, implies a correlate with initial G(K). Now in Accadian we have KUR(KUŠ), KIŠ, "horse," and KIŠI, GUŠ, "hair." The horse may have got its name from its mane; cp. mčng, "the long flowing mane of a horse"; mao, "a horse with long hair." That the horse in Chinese should be "an emblem of heaven," the Accadian GIŠ, GIRA, (MA), ME, MU, is suggestive, considering the identity of appellations.

wéi, "to invest, besiege, hem in"; wu, "to oppose, resist"; wu, "a file of soldiers"; wu, "military"; wu, "a rencontre"; wu, "fencing (with swords)"; etc. *Cp*. also the Accadian dialectic forms GU, GÊ, milistu, "battle"; GI, GA, "to rival, oppose, be hostile"; DU, saltum, "battle."

- 11. The Accadian MU, nadânu, "to give," which occurs in proper names, answers to wéi, "to give"; cp. also mang, "generously provided for"; mu, "to give a bounty to, enlist"; mu, "to enrich by kindness"; mu, "to gratify." The Accadian MUN, biltu, "tribute," appears to be cognate. The stronger form, GUN, "tribute," corresponds to the Chinese kung (kong, gong, ging), "to give"; kung, "presents," "tribute," "taxes in kind." Cp. also wăn (men, mún), "to send presents when asking after one."
- 12. The Accadian MUL, bêlu, "lord," and MULU, bêltu, "lady," dialectic forms of (G)EN, "lord," and NIN, "lady," answer to mu, "a local ruler," which is written in the same way as mu, "mother"; ming, "a young wife" (cp. Accadian GIN, amtu, "maid"); wa, "a beautiful woman; wăn (men, mún), "beautiful," "elegant," "the literary class," "the gentry"; wăn, also read ngao, "an old dame"; wăn shăn, a name for the goddess of Earth; lao wăng (wung, yung), "an old gentleman"; wêi, "lordly"; wêi, "handsome," "admirable," "powerful"; and the words cited under MU, "great," and MU "king."
- 13. The Accadian ME, ME-š, $ma'd\hat{u}tu$, "muchness," "multitude," are used as signs of the plural (cp) the G-form G'IA). Corresponding to this, we have the Chinese $m\check{a}n$ (mún), which is used as a sign of the plural of persons; e.g., $wo-m\check{a}n$, "we," $ni-m\check{a}n$, "you"; $ti-l\hat{h}$ iüng- $m\check{a}n$, "the brothers"; cp. also min, "a multitude"; $j\check{a}n$ min-min, "a mass of people." $GI\check{s} = MU = rab\hat{u}$, "great," is cognate.
- 14. The Accadian MULU, MUL, MEN, anaku, "I," cp. GIN, anaku, "I," correspond to the Chinese meu, mu, "I"; wu, "I," "my"; with which, again, we may compare the Accadian MU, MA, "my," MU-MU, ME, "our," "us" (suffix pronouns). MULU (= NGALU), anêlu "a man," and MULU, nišu, "the people," are represented by min "the people," "the common multitude." It has been made an objection against Accadian that ME, MEN, mean both I and thou, you and us; but an exactly similar phenomenon meets us in the Chinese. Nung is "I" in Nanking and Fuhchau, but in Kiangsu it means "you," "thou." Dr. Edkins observes that nung is a form for the first personal pronoun in Kanghi, but at Shanghai it is the second,

as it is also in the Odes, where for "you" we have jung, pronounced nung (Evolution of the Chinese Language, p. 86). The term presupposes a primitive GUN (GIN), coinciding with Accadian GIN, "I." Are the pronouns I, thou, related to the numerals one, two? GIS, "one," MIN(A), "two," curiously resemble GIN, "I," MEN, "thou." The Chinese phrase, yi-erh, "one two," is used in the sense of "we." GIS, "one," implies a form MU or ME, "one," and MIN, "two," implies the existing GI(N) šanû, "second," "other." It is evident that forms so nearly alike might easily be confused with each other. The Accadian MI-N, "two," may be compared with Chinese meu, "to double," meu, "equal"; wu (MU) "a comrade," and wu, "a pair"; so that it is a true synonym of TAB, "two." Dr. Edkins explains the use of nung for the first and second personal pronouns by regarding it as originally a demonstrative.

In Accadian, NA, NI, are suffix pronouns meaning "him," "her," "them." But NI is also a suffix of the first person, "my," and NA is also a suffix of the second person, "thy" (see Brünnow, s.v.). This exactly agrees with the Chinese phenomena. In Chinese, nai is sometimes "your," "yours"; sometimes "that," "those"; na is "that," "there," "cela"; na-ko zhăn, "that man"; while ni-na is "you, sir!" in respectful address. The ordinary Chinese word for you is ni, "thou," "you," "yours"; but ni, written with a modified form of the same character, is "we," "us," in Kiangsu; and ni-ko is ours. In Cantonese ni is this; ni-ko, "this one"; ni-tih, "this." These facts are surely enough to demonstrate that the Accadian is not singular in using identical forms for pronouns of different persons.

I may here briefly consider the other personal pronouns. Professor Douglas (*Chinese Manual*, pp. 70, sq.) gives the following list for the Chinese: ngo or wo, anciently pronounced nga, ga, go, kan, a; "I" ("mine," "my," "me," "our," "we," "us"). Every one of these old sounds may be paralleled from the Accadian. Nga, Shanghai ngu=Accadian GAL (ngal) GA "I"; ga and go = Accadian GA; kan = Accadian GIN, "I"; a = Accadian Y, A, "I." IVo and wu, "I," "my," go back, as we have seen, to Accadian MA, ME, MU, "I," "my." Yü, "I, we, our, myself," = KU(GU), GI(N).

ngan, an, "I," "myself," in the vernacular of certain parts of northern China = NGAL, GIN (ngin); cp. TIL, TIN, "life," for the interchange of l, n.

tsa, tsan, are used in Chihli and Shantung for we, "our"; tsa-măn, "we," "our." The dialectic tsa, cha, point to primitive ZA, DA. Compare the Accadian ZA, ZU, "thou," "thy"; DAM, "thou." Tsan (dzan) "I," "me," is a further development of tsa.

For the second person, "those," we have *ni*, *nin*, or *nina*, and *ju*. *Ni* (old sound ni), is compared by Bishop Caldwell with the *ni* of the Scythian tablets at Behistun. *Nin*, old nim, is probably GIN, as is indicated by the Cantonese *jim*, Shanghai *niăng* (ngin); and is thus identical with GIN, *anaku*, "I."

ju, zhu, implies an archaic series GU, DU, ZU; vid. supr. s.v. zhu.
t'a, "he," "she," "it"; "that," "the other," "another." The old sounds tă, t'ap, identify this term with the Accadian TAB, "fellow," "partner," "brother," "to add."

k'i, ch'i (old sound gi), "he," "she," "it"; "his," "they," "theirs"; "the," "that," "the one"; cp. Accadian GI-š, GI, "one," DI-š, "one."

As I pointed out in the *Academy*, No. 916, the language of the letter of the king of Arzapi to Amenophis III (sixteenth century B.C.) is clearly related to Chinese on the one hand, and to Accadian on the other.* In this inscription we have MI as suffix pronoun of the first person, and TI, TU (= DI, DU, = ZA, ZU) as suffixes of the second. These forms obviously admit of comparison with the Chinese and Accadian forms already discussed.

The Accadian MA, "boat," "ship," answers to the Chinese mang, "a small boat," "a pinnace," "a long boat"; and mang (old sound, mong), "a fast-sailing war-junk," "a galley."

The Accadian Υ , denoting "water," is not only pronounced A, but also Mê. It does not seem likely that the latter sound

^{*} The term BIBBID, "chariots," answers to the Chinese péi péi, anciently pit pit, that is BID+BID (cp. Accadian BABBAR=BAR+BAR, ŠIŠŠID=ŠID+ŠID).

KALATTA Or KALATA, "brother," is ko lao, anciently KA LAT. The ideogram \(\frac{1}{2} \rightarrow \frac{3}{4} \rightarrow \

is borrowed from the Assyrian $m\hat{c}$, $m\hat{u}$; for we have a Chinese series to support its claim to be considered a genuine Accadian vocable. The Chinese terms are as follows: man, "an expanse of water"; "an overflow"; mang (old sound, mung), "water;" mao, "watery"; "stagnant water"; mo, "small rain"; mo, "shallow water;" mei, "summer rains;" mei, "flowing water;" mi, "a vast expanse of waters;" mo shui mi-mi "wide and full is the river"; mo, "a flood bursting the barriers; a mighty stream"; min, "a vast sheet of water"; "to flow off"; ming, "the deep;" "drizzling rain;" mo, "to sink in the water"; mu, "to bathe"; mu, "fine rain." The obvious implication of this series of cognate terms is strengthened by the fact that we have in Accadian G-form like mo.

I have not exhausted the points of agreement presented by Chinese words under the letter M with their Accadian doubles or originals. Just as we should expect in Accadian an M-form answering to the GIN of ZA-GIN, so we actually find in Chinese min, "a fine kind of stone, clouded alabaster"; $poh\ min$, "pure white alabaster"; $min\ shi(k)$, "common alabaster"; wan or min, "the streaks in agate or jade"; and other cognate forms.

And as we have MU-š, "serpent," in Accadian, so we have in Chinese man, mang, min, with the same meaning (see under jan). With GA, šabâţu, "to beat," we may compare ma (mit), "to strike"; mieh (mit), Canton mit, "to beat"; with GI, şahru, "little," mi, "small, petty;" miao, "small"; mieh, "minute," etc.; with GA, paŝâḥu, and GIN, kânu or taqânu, mi, "to soothe, pacify"; "settle, establish"; with GA, saharu, mi, "around"; with GI, sanâku, kalû, GA, šalamu, mi, "to prevent, close up, stop; to complete"; with GID, "long, distant"; mi, do.; with GIN, qanû, mieh, "bamboos"; with GIN, GAM, "to bow the head," mien (min), "to hang down the head"; with GIN, târu, mien, "to turn the back on." But I need not now say more than that under M it is easy to find doubles for all or most of the Chinese words given under J.

I have said that the Accadian terms for "ear," were GI-Š, GÊ, MU-Š. I can now throw further light on this identification. The ideogram is 4 , with the syllabic values MA, A, ME, BI, PI, TAL, TU; and the name of the sign is giltanû. Now this Assyrian conventional name is equivalent to gištanû (cp. ilteniš = išteniš, and many other well-known examples of l for š). GIŠ being "the ear," what is TAN or

DAN? Let the following Chinese series help us to decide: ta "great ears, hanging over"; tan, "ears without a rim on the lobe"; tan, "pendent ears, reaching to the shoulders"; tan, "earthenware jars, with ears or handles"; tang, "ear-pendants"; tang, "an ear whose lobe reaches to the neck," such as we see on images of the gods (è tang), and which is regarded as a mark of intelligence. This recalls Ashurbanipal's boast that the gods had given him "large ears" (uznā rapšāti). Cp. further t'u, "yellow ear-flaps"; ti, "a jar with small ears"; ting, "a tripod kettle with two ears"; tring, "a running from the ear"; to, pendent things"; è to, "lobe of the ear"; t'ing, "to hear." GILDAN, or GIŠTAN, therefore, is GIŠ (GEŠ) + DAN, "ear + ear." With GIŠ, "ear," cp. GIN, magāru, "to hear, listen to." GIŠ-TUG, MUŠ-TUG, "to hear," seem likewise to combine both terms for "ear."

As to the phonetic values of the ideogram, MA, ME, answer to MU(§), as in so many similar instances; A has lost the initial consonant (as £, "to speak," = MÊ, "to speak"); BI is a hardening of MI, such as regularly takes place in the Amoy dialect of Chinese, e.g. ming, "a corn-fly," Amoy beng; cp. Accadian BAN, "a bow," with GIN, GAM, "to bend." TAL is to TAN, as TIL to TIN, or DIL, "man," to DIN (mudin), and TU answers to Chinese to, "pendent" (vid. supr.); cp. Cantonese tù, Amoy tò, Shanghai tu. The ordinary word for "ear" in Chinese is è, which Wells Williams writes 'rh, Edkins er, and Wade êrh. But R is not to be found anywhere else in the Chinese lexicon; and the sound intended appears to be merely the open e, heard in such words as "ere," "mère"; so that all the homophones given under 'RH really consist of a single vowel, and ought to be transcribed è. The dialects point to the same conclusion. È, "ear," is the Cantonese i, Amoy jin, Shanghai ni. Now è, i, have lost their initial letter, like the Accadian A (for the deflexion of the vowel, cp. Accadian A, "water," and Ê, "water; Accadian A, "clothes, Chinese i, "clothes"); while the Amoy j_i^n , n_i^n , vulgar h_i^n , and the Shanghai ni, point to older forms identical with the Accadian GIN, "to hear," GI-š, "the ear," MU-š, "the ear." In Chinese, we have also wan, Cantonese man, "to hear" (old sounds, men mún), obviously corresponding to the Accadian terms.

Another Chinese \grave{e} ('rh), means "the whiskers," "hairy." It is the Cantonese i, Amoy ji, Shanghai \grave{e} . GI or $G\grave{e}$ is the form pre-

supposed by ji; and we may compare Accadian Kiši, "the hair." But what is Kiši, Kiš? It is, I think, identical with [15] Uš, or rather Guš, Giš, muttatu, "the hair." (Giš, "the male," is also the hairy or bearded and whiskered sex). The Chinese supplies the corresponding M-forms, mei, "the eyebrows"; mao, "hair."

Another \grave{c} ('rh) is "two," "the second," "to divide in twain," "to duplicate"; and there are two other homophones, meaning "a second," "an assistant"; and, "a substitute," "a second," "to reiterate," "to oppose." Here, again, the dialectic i, ji, ni, carry us back to gi, mi, or di; and, as we saw above, Accadian GI or GIN is $\check{s}an\hat{u}$, "second," or "to double," while Accadian MIN, is "two"; and GA, GI, are "to turn," "return," "answer," "oppose"; and DU-G (DU, DÊ) is "to speak." With GI, "second," we may also compare KAS or GAŠ, $\check{s}\hat{i}n\hat{a}$, "two," and KUR, KUŠ, ahu, "brother" ("the other," "the second"; cp. also Chinese, ko = ka, "elder brother"). The Chinese man, "double," is to Accadian MIN, MINA, as the Chinese tan, "single," is to Accadian TAN in AŠ-TAN.

I have already called attention to the relation between the first and second numerals and the first and second personal pronouns. What I then said is borne out by the fact that \grave{e} ($r\hbar$), in the three dialects i, $j\hbar$, \grave{e} , is the second personal pronouns "thou," "you." The initials of two forms are lost, and the third points to GIN, MIN (DIN). $C\rlap/p$. the Accadian KU, "thou," MEN, "thou," "you," DAM, "thou." The same Chinese character has the meanings, "so," "thus," and "abundant"; $c\rlap/p$. Accadian GIN (= DIM), $ki \hat{a}m$, "so," "thus"; $G^{\hat{e}}$, "abundance."

Addenda.

Page 64, note. The Chinese h'üeh, h'ieh, old sound giet, Amoy hiat, "blood," answers to GUD.

Page 78. The Accadian Mên, $ag\hat{u}$, "a crown" = Chinese mien (mín), "a crown."

(To be continued.)

WAS THE CAMEL KNOWN TO THE EARLY EGYPTIANS?

By the Rev. W. Houghton, M.A., F.L.S., &c.

It is a well known and very remarkable fact that no figure of the camel occurs on the monuments of ancient Egypt. Relying on this negative evidence, some writers have, I think, somewhat hastily concluded that this animal was not employed by and scarcely known to the old Egyptians. Victor Hehn goes so far as to say that "the camel was first introduced into Africa as late as the third century of the Christian era, although that animal seems expressly made for the Libyan desert, and has opened that impenetrable region to foreign nations, their trade and their religion." (Wanderings of Plants and Animals, p. 203, ed. Stallybrass). In a note (p. 476) he says that some writers have supposed that, for some reason unknown to us, the Egyptian painters may have been forbidden to copy camels. Sir G. Wilkinson writes: "It is remarkable that the camel, though known to have been used in, and probably a native of Egypt, as early at least as the time of Abraham (the Bible distinctly stating it to have been among the presents given by Pharaoh to the patriarch (Gen. xii, 16; see also Exod. ix, 3), has never yet been met with in the paintings or hieroglyphics. We cannot, however, infer from our finding no representation or notice of it,* that it was rare in any part of the country, since the same would apply to poultry, which, it was scarcely necessary to observe, was always abundant in Egypt, for no instance occurs in the sculptures of fowls or pigeons among the stock of the farm, though geese are repeatedly introduced and numbered in the presence of the stewards." (Ancient Egyptians, iii, p. 35, 3rd ed.) The instance of the absence of the domestic fowl from the monuments is not parallel with that of the camel; this bird was unknown to the early Egyptians. We know that the domestic fowl is aboriginal in India, and that it first migrated to the west with the Medo-Persian invaders, as Victor Hehn has well reminded us. The artificial hatching of eggs, therefore, which Aristotle (Hist. Anim., vi, 2, § 3) and Diodorus (Lib. i, c. 74) mention as

^{*} Sir G. Wilkinson, in a note, says: "I have a stone seal found in Nubia, on which two camels are rudely engraved, but it is of uncertain date."

practised by the Egyptians, must refer to the eggs of geese or ducks, or to a period later than the Persian conquest. In the case of the camel we have the direct testimony of Genesis xii, 16; Exod. ix, 3—the murrain was on the camels of Egypt—and Gen. xxxvii, 25—Ishmaelites from Gilead with their camels bearing spicery on their way to Egypt. The Biblical statements are completely set at naught by Victor Hehn from the negative evidence of the Egyptian monuments and from the presumed late introduction of the camel into Africa. On à priori grounds it would appear highly improbable that so valuable a beast of burden, and so much used in Arabia, Syria, and other Asiatic countries, should not have been employed by the old Egyptians; but I am able to bring forward direct conclusive evidence of the camel having been used as a beast of burden by the Egyptians in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus (born B.C. 309).

Strabo in his last two books describes Egypt, Ethiopia and the north coast of Libya; he had seen Egypt as far as the first cataracts, and his description of the country is generally allowed to be one of the most complete parts of his work. Speaking of the desert tract between Myos Hormus on the Red Sea and Coptos on the Nile, he mentions Philadelphus as the first person said to have opened a road between these two places, and to have provided stations and water supplies. "Formerly," says the Greek geographer (i.e., before the time of Philadelphus), "the camel-merchants" (οί καμηλέμποροι, i.e., those who carried their goods on camels) "performed their journeys by night being guided by the stars, and like mariners, carried with them a supply of water, but now watering places" ($i\hat{v}\hat{c}\rho\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}a$) "are provided, and rain water, which is scarce, is collected in reservoirs." (Geograph., xvii, 1, § 45, ed. Kramer.) In the historical inscription of Esarhaddon we read how the Assyrian king on his arrival at the city of Ra-pi-khi on the frontiers of Egypt, found the boundary stream dry, and secured the aid of the kings of Arabia, who supplied him with camels to carry water for the use of his army in his campaign against Egypt (B.C. 672 circ.).

But although there is no representation of the camel on the monuments, there are one or two Egyptian words which point with much probability to their denoting the camel. Our learned President has kindly supplied me with extracts containing instances in which the camel is supposed to be the animal meant. The first instance of the occurrence of a word which might be identified with the animal,

occurs in the 1st Anastasi Papyrus about the travels of an Egyptian officer in Syria. At page 23, line 5 of the MS., the traveller or Egyptian officer (Mohar) seems to ask for the flesh of the camel to 2at; the words are—

"(Give) the flesh of camel to the Mohar to eat."

Besides this example M. Chabas (Études sur l'antiquité historique, p. 412) gives three others which he identified more or less with it. The animal is here called \(\sum_{\lambda} \) \(\sum_{\lambda} \). In the Bologna Papyrus it is said—

This text is of the Ramesside period.

In Anastasi iii, 4, 1, we are told—

The Proverbs of Ani (Boulaq Pap., 9, 4) say-



"The (young) female camel bears the burden, did not her mother bear it?"

Now the question is, how are we to read the word Both Brugsch and Chabas hold that the sign has the value mar as well as man, and therefore read S Kamari or Kamali. Mr. P. le Page Renouf informs me such a phonetic value of so is one which, he thinks, requires confirmation from other instances. M. Chabas, referring to ma and ma and mar, thinks has this value; with this we may compare mer "an eye." But whatever may be the real name of the beast of burden, I think there is little, if any doubt, that the camel is the animal denoted by both the Egyptian words 不可属。 And 一面可是 is said in the above texts suits the camel better than any other beast of burden. Kush seems to have been the land where the camel was best known, and to this day it is very abundant in Nubia. We have seen from Strabo that the camel merchants at one period carried their water with them across the desert between Myos Hormus and Coptos on the Nile, and I think it highly probable that or māgarāu were vessels for carrying water, as the determinative would lead one to infer.

The text about dancing camels is not so easy to understand, Mr. P. le Page Renouf says "it seems to explain the verb which (in another text published by Brugsch in his Recueil, II, pl. 62) comes in a series of words expressive of gymnastic feats performed by men." Perhaps the gymnastic feats were grotesque imitations of camel-conduct and attitude.

The full form of the Egyptian word Kamāāar (r=1, cf. Heb. סככניוד where we should expect to find it, viz., in the travels of the Egyptian officer in Syria. I have noticed several Semitic words in the record, as given by Mr. Budge in his useful recently published "Egyptian Reading Book." On some of the animal and plant names I may have something to say on a future occasion. To conclude, I think the evidence adduced here is enough to satisfy us that the camel was known to and used by the Egyptians from, comparatively speaking, early times.

Notes on Egyptian Inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom.—I.

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

I. Among the contracts which Hept'efaå, in the reign of Usertesen I, made for the benefit of his ka, there is one—the third of those recited in his tomb—in which the other party was the corporation of the temple of Apuat, consisting of ten members. From the schedule (Siut I, lines 266–288) we see at a glance that the $\sqrt{100}$ or 'director of the prophets' received twice as much as each of the inferior members, who all share equally; and in the recital, or perhaps we should rather say in the body of the contract as written, we find that their contributions also were in the same proportion.

Most of the contracts were made either with individuals singly or with classes of subordinate priests, such as the who appear to have been all on an equal footing; but the ninth affords another instance of a distinction being observed. The other party here consisted of the "director of the necropolis-people" and the work in the latter comprising an

called simply , "ranger (?) of the mountain," and eight other persons called simply , "dwellers on the mountain," (not, of course, "Bedâwin" or foreigners). In the recital we find that the provisions supplied were as follows:—

From the director, 2 jars of beer, 100 scones or flat loaves, 10 white loaves.

From the ranger, 1 jar of beer, 50 scones or flat loaves, 5 white loaves.

From the eight mountain people, 8 jars of beer, 400 scones or flat loaves, 40 white loaves (that is, from each of the last, 1 jar of beer, 50 scones or flat loaves, 5 white loaves).

Here again the director was to supply twice as much as each of the others.

Another item of the contract was that Hept'efaå should give to 85 H 2

in a schedule of which only the first column, containing the titles of the recipients, is at all legible. However, on the analogy of the former cases, the director was probably to have twice as much as each of his subordinates: there were nine persons to receive equally (the ranger and eight mountain-people), and one other to receive a double portion. The problem was therefore to obtain eleven portions, presumably not fractional amounts, out of naturally means 2000, and [] should mean 2.., and as 2002.. gave no satisfactory result, it was quite evident that the \$\frac{2}{3}\$ and the portion, and in fact the only solution was to make f = 10 - f; then each portion was i, the same received iii the received ___, and the 8 received 16 - or \[\] On comparing these figures with the traces of the schedule on the wall, I found no disagreement, and had thus fairly obtained the little secret that

Whether or no was actually means 1000 hat I cannot decide, although it seems very probable. In this case — is 100 hat. But it will be observed that is really an unit, otherwise the sum

From the following passage we obtain a connection between and the following passage we obtain a connection between and the following and the following passage we obtain a connection between Brugsch's Wtb., Suppl., p. 898, where the text is very correct, but the provenance faulty. At the last moment I have traced it to the tomb of Sebek nekht (early XIIIth Dynasty) at El Kab (f. Champ., Not. Desc., I, p. 273, a bad copy).

^{*} The sign, with rounded ends, is possibly equivalent to ____, shortened by the scribe owing to lack of space.

The version in the dictionary, written about 1882, is "Berechnungen der Landereien $\dot{a}tbt$, Kiesboden (χeru) 20,000, die welche auf der Höhe gelegen sind ($ntt\ hr\ qa-t$) 120, die welche sandigen Boden enthalten 140 Aruren (oder ähnliches Feldmass)."

"Account of the hat: low-lying 20 \$\frac{1}{2}\$, that which is on the high ground 120 of \$\frac{1}{2}\$\times\$: total 140." Here \$\frac{1}{2}\$ varies with \$\frac{1}{2}\$\times\$ as a unit of measurement.

In modern Egypt also,* the fields are divided into two classes, the rai (رای), from the root اروا, meaning 'moist') corresponds to kheru, and the sharâqi (شراقي, 'dry by exposure to the sun') to qat.

by means of canals and locks, that which the Nile could not reach, was reckoned amongst the virtues of princes in the Early Middle Kingdom (see Siut V, 7, and Rifeh, VII, † 22-3). Professor Brugsch has brought forward some examples to prove that 'stony ground,' but there cannot now be a shadow of doubt about its meaning in this passage. Moreover the word occurs at Beni-without any determinative of stone or pebbles. The context of the passage freely rendered is (the king fixed the boundaries of the nome), placing landmarks at the southern and northern limits, "setting up them (or others?) upon the meadows of the low-lying land,‡ amounting to 15 land-marks set up in its fields." The lowlying land, subject to inundation, needed special care in marking with a large number of stones, since the floods were likely to obliterate marks or sweep away boundaries.

* Compare Baedeker, Lower Egypt, English edit., p. 71.

[†] Rifeh I and VII afford some valuable illustrations of the Heracleopolite tombs at Siut, but contain no reminiscences of Tomb I. From this I conclude that they are anterior to the reign of Usertesen I, though Rifeh, Tomb VII, resembles in plan the portico-tombs of Benihasan.

[‡] So Maspero; my friend Dr. Krebs is wrong here.

II. In the long inscription of Khnumhotep at Benihasan there is a phrase \(\begin{array}{c} \begin{array}{c



NOTES ON A TOUR IN UPPER EGYPT.*

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

West Silsileh.

On this side of the river the quarries are less striking and extensive than on the east, but inscriptions are very numerous.

Various texts contained in the Grotto of Horemheb and in the Nile Stelæ of later Pharaohs have been published by Champollion, Lepsius, and others. Mr. Petrie and I remained on the west side for more than a day and a half, and guided by Wiedemann's valuable bibliographies employed ourselves chiefly in the tombs; owing to their convenient size we were able to copy rapidly, and had nearly exhausted the place before it became necessary to move on. We were surprised to find how few lines of these copious inscriptions had ever been published.

It will be seen that all or nearly all of the tombs in West Silsileh belong to the period of the XVIIIth dynasty, from Thothmes I to Amenhotep II: a large number of them date from the joint reign of Hātshepsetu (formerly called Hatasu) and Thothmes III. In some cases the titles of Thothmes III are inscribed on the right side of the lintel, and those of Hatshepsetu on the left; sometimes their relative positions are reversed. In nearly every case the titles of Hātshepsetu have been more or less completely erased, apparently by Thothmes III. The most instructive example is in No. 57. Khuenaten's heresy also has left its record in the continual defacement of the name of the god Amen. I have, moreover, noted in one instance (stela 3 outside No. 33) an erasure of the name of Sebek, possibly by a fanatical inhabitant of Edfu; in others the principal figures have been maltreated or chiselled out for some reason that I have not been able to discover. Altogether the Silsileh tombs have suffered almost as much from malicious defacement as from any other cause, yet the soft sandstone hollowed and undermined by the river is not very favourable for their perfect

^{*} Continued from Vol. XI, p. 234. The Plates there were wrongly numbered owing to an unfortunate oversight, II and III being transposed. The stela of Seti I (Pl. IV) has been published Rougé, Insc. Hierog., 263-5, our rough copy is therefore quite useless.

preservation through thousands of years. In one case, No. 28, the ancient quarrymen have bodily removed the walls, possibly *under orders*.

It is surprising that on a site from which the Pharaohs of the XVIIIth dynasty derived the bulk of their building materials for Upper Egypt, the tombs belonging to that period should not contain a single reference to the quarries. If one may hazard an explanation, I should be inclined to suggest that these small but well-decorated sepulchres, belonging to persons of high rank but apparently of no local status in either the civil or religious administration of Silsileh or of the neighbouring cities, were constructed by third-rate courtiers. These people, having no interest outside the court and Thebes, may have been struck by the fact that a neat little tomb in the western rock of Silsileh would suit their taste better than that their mummies should be lost amongst a crowd of superior magnates in the necropolis of Uas. The position is a remarkable one, the ground was probably free to all comers, and the conveniently situated quarry, full of constant activity and excitement, may have become to some extent a fashionable resort for the living, although there was never any town of importance at Silsileh.

Another point worth noting is the absence of royal names after Amenhotep II. The last kings of the XVIIIth dynasty, like those of the XIIth, seem with all their magnificence to have exerted a repressive influence on the nobility. Especially in this respect does the active builder Amenhotep III offer a striking analogy to his great ancestor Amenemhāt III. In the cemeteries of the capitals this influence is less evident. It is the natural outcome of the centralisation which a succession of powerful kings gradually effects.

As far as our notes permitted I have tried to indicate *seriatim* the monuments that exist between the Grotto of Horemheb and the naos-stela of Seti I, proceeding from north to south; but in this there is a good deal of patch-work and guessing. No Nile traveller who is bound for Aswân can avoid passing within a few yards of the rocks, and I hope that some person may be tempted to make the necessary corrections to the list this season. In editing the inscriptions I have improved a very few signs for the sake of the printer,

but although we had no time for revision on the spot, the conditions were very favourable for accurate copying. No doubt more of the injured portions will be deciphered by future visitors.

The direction of the figures and hieroglyphs is reversed in printing, except where an arrow

indicates that they face to the left.

Horemheb Grotto. Plan and elevation L. D. I, 102: insc.
 D. III, 120, etc., etc.

2. Graffito $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1$

The sign \bigvee or \bigvee possibly stands for n. \bigcirc would seem to be a determinative of water = \bigcirc .

- 3. Ravine.
- 4. Stela of Rameses V. L. D. III, 223.
- 5. Stela of Shashanq I. L. D. III, 254.
- 6. Stela of Rameses III with the Theban triad. L. D. III, 223 (?).
- 7. Beneath 6 graffito Petric,
 - 8. Two unfinished grottoes high up.
 - 9. Graffito: phallus & IK. (G.) Petrie, 627.
- ro. Ruined grotto with niche: no sculpture but plastered: in it a Cufic graffito.
 - 11. Niche unfinished.
- Tomb: in the entrance graffito Petric, 631.

In central chamber sculptured group of man and two women seated, with defaced inscription.

Right hand chamber similar.

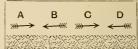
Left hand chamber similar. It has been split in two by the rock dividing and slipping down. On the ceiling decoration in yellow, red and blue.

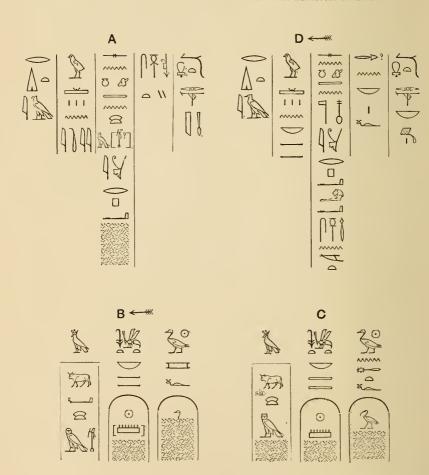
13. Graffito (P. G.) Petrie, 628. Champ., Not. I, 264.



14. Tomb (P. G.). Well made but not quite finished, the cutting of the hieroglyphs and figures not having been completed.

Lintel. Lower part broken away.

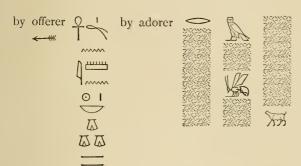




Inside the tomb



Cf. Champ. Mon. II, cviii; Not. I, 649.



In the centre, unfinished statue.

On north side T

On south side $CTAYPOC\Delta WN$ (sic) XPICTIANWN.



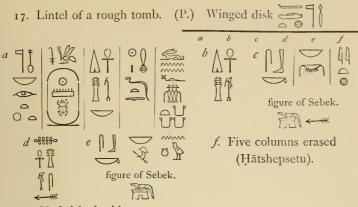
15. Small niche, two figures-



* Restored from which is the reading of most copies.

16. Tomb high up; lintel destroyed (?); inside, scenes and inscriptions painted. (P. and G.)





- 18. Unfinished tablet.
- 19. Unfinished tablet.
- 20. Graffito beneath a figure adoring. (G.) Rougé, cclxvii. Petrie, 635.
 - 21. Tomb with cartouche of Thothmes III.
- a statue.
 - 23. Hieratic graffiti, a horse(?), etc.
- - 25. Graffito ← (G.)
- 26. Graffito (G.) Petrie, 630. This is the only occurrence of the name of Pepi I at Silsileh. Against the edge of the cartouche is the sacred monogram : the difference of weathering between the early and the late graffito is small. They are completely exposed to sun, rain, and atmosphere.
 - 27. Graffito ICOEWC (cis θεόs). (G.) Petrie, 633.
- 28. Tomb quarried away: only the base remains, showing sculpture; one foot above the level of the high Nile.
- 29-32. Four fine tombs with figures, etc., and inscriptions of Thothmes III and I. The high Nile washes into most of these, and

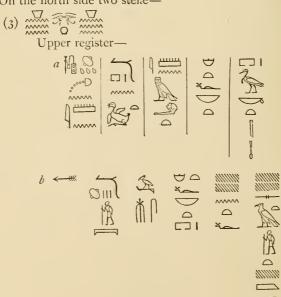
the rock below the entrance having fallen away they are almost inaccessible. See Nos. 54-61.

c. The rest destroyed. Jambs broken away. Interior unfinished, a coffin-shaped receptacle for a mummy at the back is reached by a separate entrance.

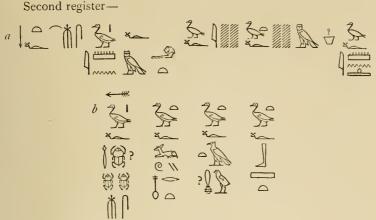
Stelæ in the rock round the entrance of this tomb. South side two stelæ— $\,$

- (1) A man offers in the upper register to four seated figures, in the lower register to two women seated; below are three lines of inscription defaced.
- (2) A man offers to man and woman, inscription \(\bigcap_{\to \infty} \) \(\bigcap_{\to \infty} \) etc. Damaged.

On the north side two stelæ-



Second register—



Lower register—

(4) Another stela in bad condition.

34. Tomb inaccessible from the land, unfinished and without sculpture, but the base at least 12 feet below high Nile.

Then follows a group of three tombs also inaccessible from the land, viz.:

- 35. Façade broken away, a small plain tablet above and another on the south side; barrel roof.
 - 36. (G.) Façade destroyed, barrel roof, with inner chamber.

On inner doorway, cf. L. D. III, 8, c.:—
Lintel _____ Winged disk.

Left jamb.

half erased 1 0 1 ~~~~ ⊕ 1 ♥ ♡ ਲ B 1 1 1

Inside on the right of the door is a scene: at the top A; from each uræus hangs ∮; inscription below this is a figure of Sebek standing » human form with crocodile's head, holding the sceptre 1: (to the top of the sceptre is attached ? and to that an arm - which proceeds from the hand in the inscription the whole forming a chain beginning in the inscription, while the last link is held in the hand of Sebek). In front of Sebek is a table of offerings, on the other side of which is a king with plain head-dress 47.

offering \hat{h} , \hat{h} and \hat{b} in his hands, his name above: there was another figure, probably the deceased, behind the king; beneath is a row of offerings.

On the left of the door is a scene of offering much defaced: a figure is visible presenting a statuette of the king standing;

Right jamb. ___ 1 1 1 0 0 ~~~~

North wall: along the top A a crased A a company of the company of the company of the control of

Beneath-



Two figures seated.

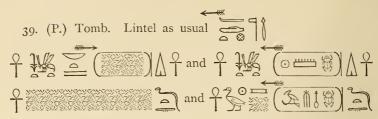
South side-



37. Niche: figures of man and woman: graffito

indistir

38. Niche without sculpture.



Chamber rough, three seated figures sculptured at the back: over them $\Pi I \Sigma TOK \wedge HC$ EYMENOYC $HK \cong IEN$ ($\mathring{\eta} \lambda \theta \epsilon \nu$?) TWI KBL $\Pi A X \Omega N$ $\overline{I\Theta}$ (P.) (Petrie 632). On the south side is a demotic graffito.

40. (P.) Tomb, lintel as usual.



Jambs destroyed.

North wall.



South wall.

List of offerings.



Two men.

\$ A

blank

101

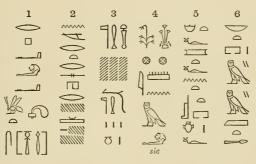
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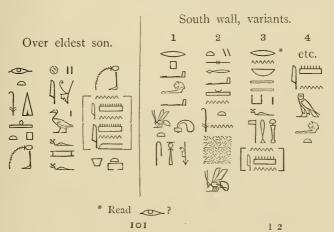
41. (P.) Tomb under a lofty rock, ten feet above the high Nile; façade plain.

The chamber is finely painted with scenes of offerings and inscriptions, in four colours:—red (light and dark), blue, yellow, and green; the women are painted yellow. The ceiling is decorated throughout with a tendril pattern in white and yellow on a red ground, the centre of each coil being blue. Down the middle of the ceiling is the inscription A.

North wall, over deceased and wife, cf. Champ. Mon. CVIII, 5.



Five sons and six daughters seated: a row of servants below. There is a long list of offerings not worth printing.



42. Tomb: on the façade a fragment giving the name of

Ḥātshepsetu



Interior rough.

- 43. Stela, the inscription partly erased $\downarrow \bigwedge$, etc., for []
 - 44. Tomb containing three statues, the inscriptions destroyed.
- 45. Panel in the rock: tree with serpent, man leading a horse? Greek graffito six lines.
 - 46. Stela, adoration of Seti I by
- 47. Stela of Rameses III, L. D. III, 218? facing the south. This cuts into No. 46.
 - 48. Naos-stela of Merenptah. L. D. III, 200.
- 49. Naos-stela of Rameses II, L. D. III, 175; a flight of steps is cut up to it from the river, which now is wearing away the base of the stela.
 - 50. Stela of an official of the time of Amenhotep I. L. D. III, 200.
 - 51. Stela of Merienptah. L. D. III, 200.

The above, 46-51, are frequently represented in typical views of Silsileh. Desc. de l'Eg. Ant. IV, Pl. 47; Teynard, Eg. et Nub. I, Pl. 78; Mariette, Voyage, Pl. 74.

- 52. Niche without inscription.
- 53. Naos-stela of Seti I, almost destroyed by the river, which rises into it at high Nile: the rock in which the flight of steps has been cut has split and slipped round, so that the steps are now at right angles to their original direction. Ch. Not., p. 248.

Some tombs the position of which I cannot determine:-

54. (P.) Inscribed lintel of the usual kind; at the top \Longrightarrow \uparrow ; below, three lines, in the centre of each \uparrow from which the inscriptions start on either side.



Cf. L. D. III, 28, 7 (the right hand portion is much erased).

LV. (G.) One of a group; façade destroyed, but a fragment shows the erasure of a line, so probably temp. Hātshepsetu.

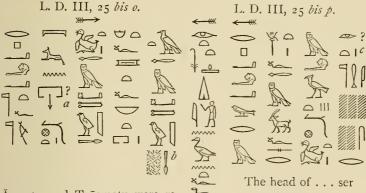
Of the chamber, the south side is partly destroyed.

FRONT WALL, north of doorway.



Figure entirely chiselled out.

NORTH WALL, upper register.



Āamatu and Taāamatu were represented seated on one couch, receiving the offerings of their son . . ser and others, but the figures have been carefully erased.

is erased.



Behind . . . ser ← ™ Three rows of offerings.

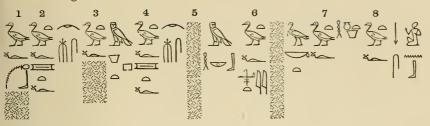
Lower register, first half beneath Āamātu (see above) ***-.

South Wall, much injured: upper register.



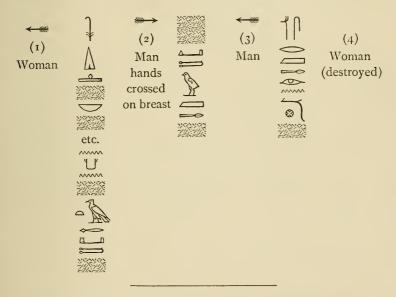
Erased figures.

Lower register.



← ## the rest *** .

BACK WALL. Four statues seated, holding lotus, much injured; inscriptions down the front. In order from the north:—

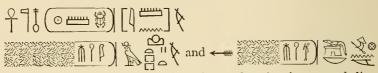


Another series: three tombs "just south of mooring place":-

Over deceased and wife <--

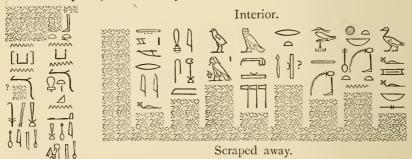


LVII. (P.) Lintel, with winged disk, and



Cf. L. D. III, 28, 6, which shows that in the second line Thothmes III has usurped Ḥātshepsetu.

South Jamb, broken away.



LVIII. (P.) Lintel inscription as usual, each line divided into halves by $\frac{0}{1}$, winged disk above



Cf. L. D. III, 28, 5.

North jamb ← ***

South jamb destroyed.



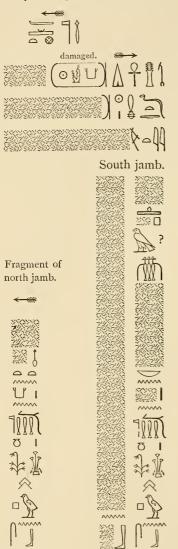
LIX. (P.) Stela outside 58.



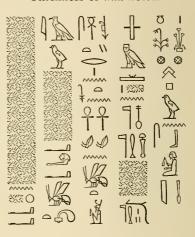
Figure standing.

Another group "Tombs high over the river":-

LX. (P.) Entrance. Lintel, south half. Northern half destroyed. Cf. L.D. III, 28, 4, a.



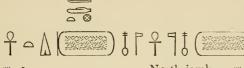
Thickness of wall north.



Thickness of wall south



BACK WALL. Niche.



South jamb »-->



North jamb ← ≪

NORTH WALL-



offerings

figures of man and woman



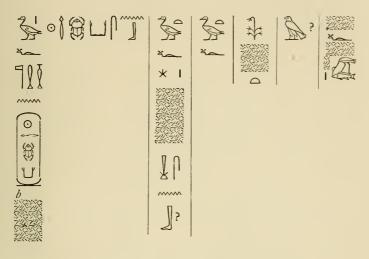
SOUTH WALL, upper register. L. D. III, 28, 4, d.



two figures seated

a ♥ XX L. D.

Cf. L. D. III, 28, 4b, South Wall. Lower register, L. D. III, 28, 4, c.

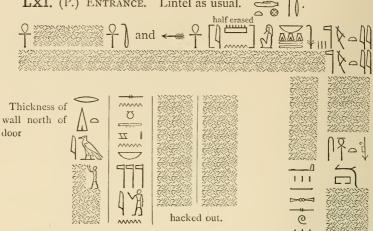


 δ L. D. adds $\begin{cases} \Delta \\ \text{sic} \end{cases}$ beneath the cartouche.

South wall (continued), inscription of the usual kind, detailing ritual and offerings with figures. It is not worth printing. Two columns in the middle adjoining each other are—







Interior: decoration mostly scraped and rubbed away.

NORTH WALL, upper register.



lower register ****



table of offerings.

BACK WALL, standing figure cut out.



Lintel of niche ←

and



South Wall ← ₩



NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE,

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.)*

7. La lecture du groupe \(\bigcap \) \(\sum_{\text{c}}; \ 8. l'étymologie du nom de dieu \(\sum_{\text{o}}; \ 9. \) Passage du Papyros Ebers; 10. La grande inscription hiératique du couvercle de la caisse de Seti I^{er}; 11. La particule \(\sum_{\text{o}} \Lambda ; \ 12. Le mot \(\sum_{\text{o}} \sum_{\text{o}}^{\text{c}} \).

7. Les textes des Pyramides de Sakkara† nous offrent un mot \square "côté," dont la transcription en lettres modernes selon l'éditeur de ces textes doit être nsi.‡ En examinant soigneusement les textes que je viens de mentionner, je n'ai rien trouvé qui parlât en faveur de cette opinion énoncée par M. Maspero; car les rares variantes \square , \square que nous rencontrons pour notre mot, ne semblent aucunement l'appuyer. Par contre, le groupe "trône," que nous transcrivons nsi(t), et que nous connaissons pour le voir partout sur les monuments, s'écrit régulièrement dans les textes des pyramides. Particulièrement quant à la pyramide de Merenra, dont j'ai fouillé attentivement les inscriptions, cette observation se montre comme exempte d'exception. C'est que dans les quatorze passages où dans ces derniers textes, se rencontre le mot "trône," il s'écrit toujours "\(\sigma\), pluriel \(\sigma\)

Dans ces circonstances, il est tout-à-fait invraisemblable qu'on aurait lu nsi le mot \square , sans jamais l'écrire \square ou \square ou \square \square ou bien \square \square . A mon avis, il faut donc chercher

^{*} Continued from Proceedings, Vol. XI, p. 226.

[†] Unas, lignes 209, 492, 580; Pepi I, 376, 406, 438, 671, 674, 675, 678; Merenra, 264, 316, 345, 364, 367, 598, 653, 660, 661, 741, etc.

[‡] Maspero, dans la Zeitschrift, 1884, page 83.

[§] Pyramide de Merenra, lignes 9, 15, 18, 19, 23, 25, 326, 449, 454, 457, 459, 473, 634, 662.

Le nom de nombre "moitié," qui en général se transcrit par ma,* doit selon moi se transcrire par kes, ce qui nous donne une explication satisfaisante du mot copte oc (théb.), xoc (boh.); état construit : oc xec dimidium "moitié."† Ce rapprochement me paraît définitivement écarter tous les obstacles qu'on pourrait mettre à la lecture kes du groupe oc "côté." Ce dernier mot nous est du reste connu par un textet d'époque récente, où se voit l'expression que voici :

Le déterminatif — de notre groupe a été expliqué comme appartenant à la classe de signes qui comprend "die Erde" § ou à l'ensemble de signes, intitulé "Städte, Gebäude, Zimmer, Theile des Hauses," || et une pareille acception semble soutenable quand on pense aux hiéroglyphes —, —, qui évidemment dérivent du signe —. Mais si l'on examine la forme que revêt ce dernier aux textes des pyramides, à savoir la suivante: —, on en est amené à proposer une autre explication. Je crois que notre signe représente tout simplement l'aisselle de l'homme et la sinuosité qui en descend entre le bras et le trone humains. De cette façon s'explique très naturellement la forme que fournissent les pyramides pour notre signe. On comprendra alors aussi fort bien le rôle du dit signe dans des expressions comme celles-ci:

^{*} Voir de Rougé Chrestomathie Égyptienne, II, page 118 ; et Brugsch, Wörterbuch, II, page 521.

[†] Voir STERN, Koptische Grammatik, page 135. En acceptant mon identification, on n'a besoin de chercher ni dans l'hébreu ni dans l'arménien le prototype du mot égyptien pour "moitié, demi."

[‡] DÜMICHEN, Altägyptische Tempelinscheriften, I, pl. 32, l. 13. Ayant collationé ce texte sur l'original, j'y ai introduit une légère correction. Il faut du reste faire remarquer que malgré son apparente jeunesse, ce texte a des particularités grammaticales qui annoncent un âge antérieur à l'époque ptolémaïque.

[§] Lepsius, dans la liste de Theinhardt (Zeitschrift, 1875).

^{||} BRUGSCH, Grammaire Hiéroglyphique.

livres sont sur ses deux côtés, ses talismans sont sur ses pieds."*

June (Sall) The property of the control of the cont

"Unas est venu à sa moitié de tronc, comme le dieu est venu à sa moitié de tronc. Unas est venu à sa chevelure, comme le dieu est venu à sa chevelure;" † et d'autres analogues à celles-là.

Notre raisonnement est d'ailleurs appuyé par des faits bien connus de la sémasiologie,‡ qui nous enseigne que, si un mot désigne à la fois une partie du corps humain et un endroit de la nature, c'est, la plupart du temps, le premier des deux sens qui est l'originaire. Car, suivant cette loi, il est évident que l'hiéroglyphe — désigne originairement une partie du corps humain.

Dans ces circonstances, il me paraît probable que la forme à lignes droites, ____, de notre signe en soit directement dérivée de la forme à lignes ondulées, ____, Les hiéroglyphes *____, ___, qui se sont développés du signe ____, ne font aucun obstacle à cette supposition, car ils pouvaient bien représenter le serpent qui entre et qui sort de l'aisselle. Dans un pays où la sorcellerie a droit de cité, les charmeurs de serpents doivent avoir eu une place à part dans la société. Il serait en réalité étrange qu'aucun de leurs exercises ne fût reproduit par les signes hiéroglyphiques, qui en général représentent ce que les Égyptiens avaient sous les yeux.

8. L'étymologie du nom d'Osirís paraît être au nombre de celles qui intriguent sérieusement les savants s'occupant de l'étude de la mythologie égyptienne. C'est ainsi que l'on s'est vu forcé de proposer pour ce nom des explications, plus ou moins factices, dont les textes égyptiens ne font aucunement foi. Ce qui surtout a contribué à cet ordre de choses c'est évidemment la circonstance que, en interprétant littéralement le mot , on aurait été amené à

^{*} La pyramide d'Unas, ligne 585.

[†] Ibidem, ligne 489. Pour d'autres exemples du mot = 1 ayant le sens d'une partie du corps humain, voir entre autres le *Papyrus Ebers*.

[‡] Comparez, p. ex., cap = promontoire (caput), et de même l'arabe côté (costa); côte auprès de Côte d'Or; col ou cou à côté de Col di Tenda.

admettre pour Osiris un rôle cosmique qui ne convient à l'idéal que nous connaissons aux *dieux* égyptiens, mais bien au contraire le mettrait de plain-pied avec les *déesses* de la mythologie égyptienne.

De cette manière, je crois devoir considérer, p. ex. l'étymologie que nous a donnée notre infatigable maître à tous, Brugsch, quand il dit* que le nom | signifie "die Macht, die Kraft des Augapfels," oder "Kräftig ist der Augapfel" [la puissance, la force de la prunelle ou puissante est la prunelle]. Car pour obtenir une pareille explication du nom-dieu qui nous occupe, il faut détourner le signe f de la valeur "trône" qui lui est assurée par des milliers de textes. Mais comme je ne connais aucune preuve, empruntée à l'ancien egyptien, en faveur de l'équation | = "puissance" (je ne parle bien entendu pas l'époque ptolémaïque), je crois devoir maintenir pour le signe du mot 17, la valeur qu'il a dans beaucoup d'autres cas. Suivant mon opinion, le nom 15 signifie donc, "les siège de l'œil," ce qui, si nous nous souvenons que l'œil très souvent dans le langage mythologique dénote le soleil, amène forcément la supposition, que Osiris est le ciel, c'est-à-dire présente une notion mythologique synonyme de celle de , Hathor, et d'autres divinités féminines. Par l'application de la figure grammaticale que nous connaissons sous le nom d'ellipse, on en est arrivé à retrancher la seconde syllabe du mot 🎢, d'où a été engendrée la forme [Pyramide de MERENRA, 824:] "ton père Osiris], var. pl. II, l. 9], qui désigne aussi le dieu Osiris, et dont des textes plus récents nous offrent le dérivé 🛮 💿, forme, comme 🏻 🚾 💍 0 0 0 0 0, etc., par l'addition du nom du soleil $r\bar{a}$. A côté de la formé abrégé | du nom d'Osiris, on a crée une forme féminine n en établissant entre les deux les même rapport grammatical qu'il la divinité féminine étant en général regardée comme symbole de la maternité, la déesse pa, dont le nom bientôt devait être regardé comme une désignation du ciel, a eu la qualification de mère du

^{*} Brugscii, Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter, page Si.

soleil, dieu dont Osiris a pris le rôle, en quittant son ancienne fonction de représentant du ciel. A ce changement de la déstinée d'Osiris a pu contribuer plusieurs circonstances : le caractère général des déesses comme symboles du ciel, qui devait exclure les dieux du même emploi; la forme *préhistorique* du nom distribue du féminin ne se trouve pas, ce qui dans le cours des siècles a obscurci l'entente du dit nom,* etc.

Cette théorie du nom Osiris qui, originairement une désignation du ciel, bientôt aurait revêtu le sens de "soleil, astre du ciel," ne manque pas d'analogies, empruntées à d'autres mythologies. Ainsi p. ex. Zeus des Grecs, a-t-il originairement symbolisé le ciel, de même que son correspondant, Jupiter des romains, et tous les deux noms proviennent de la même racine que le mot sanscrit दिव, "ciel."† Cela n'empêche pas que nous rencontrions beaucoup de cas, où Zeus est le dieu-soleil, comme l'a fait remarquer fort bien M. Preller. 1 Il est bon d'ailleurs de se rappeler, pour l'illustration de pareilles transitions de sens, le phénomène, si fréquent dans le langage, de la transplantation d'un mot d'une notion dans une autre qui dans l'espace ou dans la pensée occupe une place trèsrapprochée du premier. En effet, le ciel et le soleil présentent l'un par rapport à l'autre, des particularités qui les font mettre dans une pareille relation. Comme point intermediaire de la sus-dite transition il faut évidemment regarder le sens "ciel éclairé," qui est aussi celui des dérivés de la racine dev-.

[†] BOPP, Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanskrit, etc. Berlin 1857, I, page 253.

[#] Griechische Mythologie, Berlin 1872, I, page 92 et suiv.

Je ne suis pas bien sûr d'avoir choisi la meilleure explication qui puisse se trouver pour le nom par rapport à celui de par rapport à celui de par rapport à celui de prouvé par d'autres qui connaissant mieux que moi la littérature réligieuse des égyptiens où je présume qu'on pourra relever des passages, faisant allusion au rôle préhistorique d'Osiris, comme dieu-ciel.

Pour un autre exemple concluant, voir Piehl, Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, pl. 123.

10. Parmi les inscriptions hiératiques qui décorent le couvercle de la caisse de Séti I^{er}, trouvée à Deïr-el-Baheri en 1881, la plus longue renferme une donnée, assez curieuse, dont l'éditeur de ces

^{*} EBERS, Papyrus Ebers, page 20.

[†] Recueil de Vieweg, IV, page 117. Mon article porte la date de l'an 1880.

[‡] Kalender für den Orientalisten-Congress, 1889-1890 (Drugulin, Leipzig): EIN FREUNDLICHES ANGEBINDE AUS DEM PYRAMIDENLANDE.

[§] Lepsius, Denkmäler, II, 121.

textes,* M. Maspero, ne s'est pas aperçu, n'ayant pas bien saisi l'enchaînement des phrases qui forment la fin de la dite inscription.

Toute la partie initiale de notre texte a été fort bien rendue par M. Maspero. Je n'ai donc pas besoin d'en donner la transcription hiéroglyphique, mais je me borne de communiquer dans la suite la traduction qu'en a livrée le savant français.† Pour le reste du texte—j'entends la partie où mes vues diffèrent de celles de l'éditeur—le lecteur a le droit d'avoir sous les yeux non seulement nos traductions respectives, mais encore l'original en transcription hiéroglyphique.

Voici d'abord la traduction qu'a faite le savant français du texte en son entier: "L'an XVI, le quatrième mois de Pirit, le 13 du roi Siamon, jour d'apporter le roi Menmârî Sitî Mînephtah, hors de son tombeau pour le faire entrer dans le tumulus de la reine Anhâpou ‡ qui est à la grande nécropole—par l'entremise du prophète d'Amon-râ, roi des dieux Onkhfniamen, fils de Boki, du père divin d'Amon-Râ, roi des dieux, troisième prophèt de Khonsoumoïs Nofirhotpou, du scribe directeur des travaux du temple d'Amon-Râ, roi des dieux, domestique du temple d'Ousirmârî SOTEPENRÎ dans Thèbes, intendant de la nécropole Mirithotî, du scribe ingénieur en chef NSIPKASHOUTII. Après que leur mère, la supérieure de la demeure du Grand, eut dit: " Ce qui était en bon état, en ma garde, n'a souffert aucun dommage quand on les transporta hors de ce tombeau où ils étaient," on les fit entrer en ce tumulus de la reine Anhâpou qui est en la grande nécropole où Amenhotpou repose en paix."

^{*} Les momies royales de Déir-el Bahari, ouvrage publié dans le I^{er} volume des Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire, pages 511 et suiv.

[†] Bien entendu, je ne suis point partisan du systême de transcription qu'a appliqué l'auteur français dans son ouvrage. Mais c'est là un point de détail qui ne va pas nous occuper à cette occasion.

[‡] Ce nom que M. Maspero a transcrit $(\bigcap_{Q} f^{\mu\nu})$, doit peut-être se lire $(\bigcap_{Q} f^{\mu\nu})$ $(\bigcap_{Q} f^{\mu\nu})$ $(\bigcap_{Q} f^{\mu\nu})$ $(\bigcap_{Q} f^{\mu\nu})$, doit peut-être se lire $(\bigcap_{Q} f^{\mu\nu})$ $(\bigcap_{Q}$

Je donne maintenant en transcription hiéroglyphique ce qui de l'original correspond à la partie souslignée de la traduction de M. Maspero. La teneur en est la suivante:—



Ce que je voudrais traduire de la manière suivante : "Après que la Mère, supérieure de la grande demeure, eut dit : 'Ce qui a été bien conservé jusqu'ici ne risque rien, quand on les transportera hors de ce tombeau où ils se trouvent et qu'on le fera entrer en ce tumulus de la reine $An-r\bar{a}-tef$ qui est dans la grande nécropole où AMENHOTEP repose en paix.' "

Il faut examiner quelques-uns des points qui dans cette traduction s'écartent des parties correspondantes de celle, publiée par M. Maspero. Ce qui d'abord constitue la différence essentielle entre les deux traductions, c'est l'acception de la locution & 6 6, qui, chez l'auteur français, introduit la proposition principale, tandis que nous y attachons un sens copulatif, déterminé du reste par la proposition qui précède, qui dans ce cas est une proposition incidente. Pour l'emploi coordonnant de Rê au début d'une pro position, voir Erman, Neuägyptische Grammatik, §§ 216 et 361. L'expression , que M. Maspero a traduite "la demeure du Grand," signifie plutôt "la grande demeure," le -t, caractéristique du féminin, est depuis longtemps tombé. Le déterminatif A, qui accompagne tout ce qui est divin, joue un rôle fort marqué dans les papyrus de la XXième dynastie et des époques suivantes. En général, n'importe quelle qualification élevée peut être suivie de ce signe qui s'emploie d'une façon complètement explétive, p. ex., dans l'expression , qui peut signifier "devant moi," mais qui signifie tout aussi bien "publiquement" Cela dit, je crois pouvoir énoncer, que notre inscription contient à la fin une réponse* de la déesse de la nécropole qui a été consultée avant le transfert de la momie royale à la place qu'elle a eue l'an 16 du pharaon SI-AMON. En d'autres termes, notre texte constate l'existence dans la nécropole thébaine d'un oracle, présidé par la déesse des morts. C'est là un fait qui a son importance et qui gagne de force, si nous refléchissons que c'est vers l'époque de la conception du texte hiératique. tracé sur le coffre funéraire de Seti 1er, que surgissent les premiers documents relatifs à l'oracle du dieu principal de Thèbes des vivants, "d'Amon-rā, seigneur de Nes-taui, roi des dieux, résidant à Apet."

négation fréquemment usitée, on compte† non seulement le n qui forme l'élément initial de la négation de la langue néo-égyptienne, mais encore la particule &n qui s'emploie pour renforcer le dit élément. Un pareil dédoublement ne présente rien d'extraordinaire à quiconque connait un peu les manières dont se développent les mots de n'importe quelle langue. Pour ma part, j'ai longtemps été obsédé par les analogies parlant en faveur du dédoublement de l'ancien dans les formes coptes n et &n, ce qui m'a forcé de supprimer l'idée, suivant laquelle le second élément &n de la négation copte serait le

Aujourd'hui que j'ai ramassé quelques exemples, militant en faveur de ce dernier rapprochement, je n'hésite point à soumettre la matière à l'appréciation des confrères. Voici mes exemples de

^{*} Le mot dont le déterminatif est identique à celui qui entre dans les mots , "pierre," montagne," etc., a été rendu "tumulus" par M. Maspero, et j'ai provisoirement adopté ce sens.

[†] Maspero, De la conjugaison en égyptien antique, en démotique et en copte, page 107; Stern, Koptische Grammatik, page 226.

l'emploi de _____ \(\Lambda \) hiéroglyphique dans le rôle de la négation & \(\mathbf{n} \) du copte:

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"Que son âme ne soit jamais, jamais anéantie dans la région inférieure."*

"Je ne permets aucunement, aucunement qu'on détruise son âme dans la région inférieure." †

rien retranché, rien, tant que subsiste le firmament et que Schou apparaît." ‡

Dans ces exemples, on ne peut rendre le groupe A par "de nouveau," *iterum*, car cela donnerait un sens absolument déraisonable. Pour qu'une chose se passe de nouveau, il faut qu'elle se soit produite une fois auparavant. Mais il n'entrait assurément pas dans l'esprit de l'auteur des deux premiers exemples que l'âme du défunt eût passé par *une* destruction, pas plus que par le troisième exemple il aurait voulu constater que le même défunt eut été reduit à jeun, après la mort.

^{*} MASPERO, Les momies royales de Deir-el-Bahari, page 610. M. Maspero ne donne pas ici de traduction de

[†] MASPERO, Il., page 600, traduit \(\bigcup_{\text{to}} \) \(\Lambda\) de ce passage par "au contraire," et prétend qu'il "appartient à la phrase qui finit," c'est-à-dire à la phrase qui suit immédiatement celle que nous avons citée. Mais de cette façon, \(\bigcup_{adverbe} \) \(\bigcup_{\text{to}} \) introduirait une proposition, ce qu'il ne fait jamais, à ma connaissance. Où trouve-t-on d'ailleurs des exemples d'un sens "au contraire," conféré au mot \(\bigcup_{\text{to}} \) \(\bigcup_{\text{to}} \) ?

[‡] MASPERO, Il. , page 613, traduit cette expression de la sorte : "il n'y sera rien retranché, de nouveau, en toute saison déterminée du ciel, quand Shou sort." Cette traduction renferme une expression que je ne saurais comprendre. Qu'entend notre auteur par sa "saison déterminée du ciel"?

veau," correspond au copte ON, et que par conséquent un même mot ancien égyptien _____ \textsup se serait transformé en deux mots coptes différents, &N, "non pas," "ne pas," et ON, "de nouveau." Mais rien n'est plus fréquent dans les langues qu'un pareil dédoublement, appuyé par la création d'une divergence de sens. On n'a qu'à penser à des doubles comme chevalier à côté de cavalier (lat. caballarius), pape auprès de papa, ou l'allemand Vogt auprès de Advocat, Heiland auprès de heilend (tous les deux originairement part. prés. de heilen, "guérir"), etc., pour reconnaître que, loin de nuire à notre acception, l'existence des formes différenciées & M et On du _____ \triangle ancien la soutient au contraire. Cela augmente d'ailleurs de vraisemblance par le fait que le dialecte copte—celui de Fayoum—où l'ancien ____ \(\Lambda \), "de nouveau," a été conservé sous la forme &N, a modifié le correspondant copte de l'ancien ____ A, "non pas," en En. Il y a donc partout un besoin très fort de différencier sous le rapport de la forme ce qui s'était transformé quant au sens.

J'ai cru inutile de m'occuper ici longuement de la question de savoir comment l'ancien A ait pu arriver à jouer le rôle de négation. Ceux qui connaissent l'histoire des négations françaises pas, plus, guère, jamais, rien, etc., n'ont point besoin d'indications sur ce point de la matière.

La particule d'interrogation & \(\mathbb{N}^* \) du dialecte bohaïrique est évidemment de la même origine que la particule négative & \(\mathbb{N}_* \). L'emploi en rappelle celui du latin nonne, qui présuppose une réponse affirmative. Au moins, la plupart des cas où je l'ai rencontrée indiquent, pour la particule d'interrogation & \(\mathbb{N}_* \), plutôt un pareil sens que celui de num, donné par les grammairiens. †

^{*} La négation A découverte par Brugsch (Zeitschrift, 1876), est probablement une forme à suffixe possessif de la racine L'antithèse de set bien Y a-1-il des exemples où ce dernier mot ait le sens affirmatif de si, oui?

[†] Cfr. STERN, Koptische Grammatik, page 348. Le thébaïque ene, qui se rencontre là, où les textes bohaïriques offrent & \(\mathbb{R}, \) est sans doute un descendant de l'ancien \(\begin{array}{c} \mathbb{Q}, \) comme on semble penser communément.

ce de la comaines de Ramessu-mi-amon."†

Dans le groupe hiéroglyphique [BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, page 737] nous avons à voir un mot dérivé de [BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, page 737] nous avons à voir un mot dérivé de [BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, page 737] nous avons à voir un mot dérivé de [BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, désignant in pase en amener la création de nouveaux. Le -t de la désinence a été introduit en [BRUGSCH, Wörterbuch, With a comme dans d'autres mots, désignant une localité. Évidemment avant de signifier "Sitz, Wohnung, Stätte," le groupe en question a dû désigner un endroit défini. Puis, par ellipse, on a été amené à y rattacher le sens plus général que je viens de mentionner. J'ignore s'il faut rapprocher de notre groupe ‡ celui de [BRUGSCH, Wörterb., VI, p. 658), quoique cela paraisse vraisemblable.

^{*} Nordisk tidskrift for filologi. Ny række, VI (1882), pages 26-31. Cfr. Piehl, Dictionnaire du Pap. Harris, No. 1.

[†] Papyrus Anastasi, No. IV (6, 11).

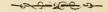
[‡] Le groupe que donne Brugsch comme variante de est plutôt à considérer comme deux mots, l'article possessif + le mot

British Museum, London, W.C., November 18th, 1889.

DEAR SIR,

With regard to Professor Oppert's letter, quoted, translated, and commented upon by Dr. Bezold in the last part of the *Proceedings*, I have only to remark, that no conversation whatever has, at any time, taken place, and no communications have passed, between Professor Oppert and myself, concerning the text known as the Nin-mag inscription. Professor Oppert probably confounds me with someone else.

Yours truly,
THEO. G. PINCHES.



The Anniversary Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 14th January, 1890, at 8 p.m., when the Council and Officers of the Society will be elected, and the usual business of the Anniversary Meeting transacted.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.



The Bronze Ornaments of the Palace Gates from Balawat.

[SHALMANESER II, B.C. 859-825.]

Parts I, II, III, and IV have now been issued to Subscribers.

In accordance with the terms of the original prospectus, the price for each part is now raised to \mathcal{L}_{I} 10s.; to Members of the Society (the original price) \mathcal{L}_{I} 1s.

Society of Biblical Archæology.

COUNCIL, 1889.

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P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

Vice-Presidents.

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THE RIGHT HON. SIR A. H. LAYARD, G.C.B., &c.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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VOL. XII. TWENTIETH SESSION.

Third Meeting, January 14th, 1890.
[ANNIVERSARY.]

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THE OFFICES OF THE SOCIETY,

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

1890.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

11, HART STREET, BLOOMSBURY, W.C.

PRICE LIST OF TRANSACTIONS AND PROCEEDINGS.

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A few complete sets of the Transactions still remain for sale, which may be obtained on application to the Secretary, W. H. RYLANDS, F.S.A., 11, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, W.C.

PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

Third Meeting, 14th January, 1890.

[ANNIVERSARY.]

THE REV ROBERT GWYNNE, B.A.,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors; a special vote of thanks being awarded to M. Guimet, for his valuable present:—

From the Author, Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A.:—The Etruscan Numerals.

Archæological Review. July, 1889.

From the Author, Philippe Berger:—Inscriptions céramiques de la Nécropole Punique d'Adrumète.

Revue Arch. 1889.

From the Secretary, Geo. Yate, F.S.A.:—Letters from Syria and Palestine before the age of Moses. By Archibald Henry Sayce, M.A.

Reprinted from the Transactions of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society. 8vo. 1889.

From Robert Bagster:—Records of the Past. New series. Vol. II. 8vo. 1890.

From M. Guimet:—Annales du Musée Guimet. Tomes I to XIV. 1880 to 1882. 4to. Paris.

Congrès provincial des orientalistes. Compte rendu de la troisième session. Lyon. 1878. 2 vols. 4to.

Catalogue du Musée Guimet. Par L. de Milloué, directeur du Musée. Nouvelle edition. Lyon. 1883. 8vo.

From the Author:—Sull' origine e fondazione di Roma. Dissertazione dell'avv. Gio. Batt. Lugari letta all' Accademia Pontificia di Archeologia il 25 Aprile, 1889. Roma. Folio. 1889.

From the Author:—La Domus Marmeniae ed il sepolcro di S. Urbano al IV miglio dell' Appia. Dissertazione dell' avv. Gio. Batt. Lugari letta all' Accademia Pontificia di Archeologia il 24 Maggio 1888. Roma. Folio. 1889.

From the Author:—La Via della Pedacchia e la Casa di Pietro da Cortona. Memoria di Gio. Battista Lugari. Roma. Folio. 1885.

From the Author:—Intorno ad alcuni monumenti antichi esistenti al IV miglio dell' Appia studii di Gio. Battista Lugari Romano. Roma. Folio. 1882.

From the Author:—S. Sebastiano. Memorie publicate in occasione del XVI centenario del suo martirio con note archeologico-critiche di G. B. Lugari. Roma. 8vo. 1889.

From the Author, F. Cope Whitehouse, M.A.:—The Raiyān Moeris. 8vo. 1890.

Address made before the American Geographical Society. 11 Nov., 1889.

The following were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting on December 3rd, 1889:—

Charles F. Richardson, LL.D., B.A. (Lond.), Tranby, Colwyn Bay. Charles Martin, Clanmarina, Torquay.

The following was nominated for election at the next Meeting on 4th February, 1890:—

George A. Barton, care of J. N. Danforth, 13, Pearl Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

The Secretary's Report and Audited Statement of Accounts having been submitted and received, the thanks of the Meeting, proposed by the Rev. Canon Beechey, seconded by E. Towry Whyte, were voted to the President and Secretary, the latter being proposed by Jos. Offord, jun., and seconded by P. R. Reed, for their labours in behalf of the Society during the past year.

SECRETARY'S REPORT

FOR THE YEAR 1889.

During the past year the Society has suffered severe loss by the death of some of its members, and it is with no ordinary pain that I have to record the names of the Right Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, D.D., &c., Bishop of Durham, Vice President, and Professor William Wright, D.C.L., LL.D., &c., both of whom from its commencement took the warmest interest in the Society. To Prof. Wright we have been often indebted for valuable papers and notes. In Volume IX of the *Proceedings*, he commenced a description of Kufic Gravestones in the British Museum, and being asked, with his usual kindness willingly undertook to place the members in possession of descriptions and translations of these ancient and curious memorials of those who lived and died 800 to 1,000 years or more ago. Commenced in June, 1887, a melancholy interest is attached to his second and last communication, which appeared in our *Proceedings* of June, 1888.

Another distinguished member has passed from us, Philip Henry Gosse, F.R.S., well known from his many valuable works on Natural History. Although his favourite line of study was foreign to the objects of the Society, his interest in our subjects was very great, and as one of our earliest members, he ever gave the assistance and support in his power, which was continued to the last.

It is true our loss has been great, but I am pleased to be able to state that the number on the roll of Members, although the increase is not so extensive as might be wished for the welfare of the Society and advantage of present and future Members alike, is fairly maintained. In order to fully realize the wish and intention of the Council, when they decided, as I mentioned in my last Report, to change to some extent the form of our Publications, it is necessary for every Member to exert himself. To many the Society is indebted for valuable communications, and if the remainder, who from one cause or another do not wish to help in the same manner, would make a distinct effort to enlist the assistance of those interested in Biblical Archæology, the intention of the Council would be realized, and general advantage would accrue to all. I have urged this in other Reports with happy results, but cannot urge it too often, as, except by the accidental circumstance of the generosity of single members, it is only by our own efforts that the present success of the Society's Publications can be increased. There is no want of material, an almost unlimited supply simply waits the means of publication, and more is certain to be

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forthcoming. The Society has done much, but there is much more to be done, and I cannot help feeling that it is our duty to do it.

The Twentieth Session has now commenced, with the twelfth volume of the *Proceedings*. In almost every instance it has been possible to print in extenso in each current number the paper or papers read at each meeting. Thus those Members who, from distance of residence, or other causes, have been prevented from attending the Meetings, have been placed in possession of the subject-matter discussed within but a short time, and the writers are no longer subjected to the irritating delay in the appearance of their communications which existed in former years. Although the old form of publication, the Transactions, may really be said to have ceased, with the exception of the completion of Vol. IX, and a probable Index Volume to the Series, it must be distinctly understood that nothing is really done away with. The papers read are printed exactly as formerly, the only difference being that the material is transferred to another form of publication, the Proceedings; at the same time being not only increased in bulk but in variety of subjects. Thus, the old irregularly issued Transactions have been merged into what may be called a regular monthly Journal of Biblical Archæology, a change certainly more convenient, and one which I think none can look upon as other than a decided advantage.

In former years I have detailed the various papers laid before the Society, classed under different sections. It will be well to continue this arrangement, as best suited to the objects of my Report, and of greater convenience than any other for general reference.

I am happy to be able to state that about fifty communications on many different subjects have been printed in our *Proceedings*. Some of them are of very considerable length, some are illustrated by plates and others include new texts, either never before published, or now issued in a more correct and complete form. I need hardly point out the advantage to Members of thus having valuable texts, translations, and notes placed in their possession, in clear type, without the necessity of poring over the crabbed and difficult writing of the originals. It has always been the endeavour of the Council to furnish students with such original material for study and extension, and the best thanks of the Society are due to those who are able, and at the same time willing, to go through the necessary drudgery in order to place us in possession of the results of their labour.

To the President, the Society is indebted for a variety of Papers and short communications, which I have every reason to believe would have been much more numerous during the past year, had not his official duties usurped a more than ordinary portion of his time.

To commence with the first number issued during the past session (November, 1888), the President re-opened a very interesting discussion in

a paper with the double title: Is ISEN (Genesis xli, 43) Egyptian? The Thematic Vowel in Egyptian; in the former portion of which much light was thrown on the debated meaning and origin of the word abrech. Again, in the next number (December, 1888), for the first time, I believe, is a distinct explanation given of two interesting vignettes from the Book of the Dead, the explanation being found in the magnificent papyrus recently acquired by the British Museum, a complete fac simile of which will shortly be issued with a commentary by our President. Errata to the Inscription of Kum-el-Ahmar, which appeared in Vol. X, pp. 73, 132, followed in the January number, and his valuable paper on Egyptian Phonology (Part I) in February (1889), to be completed at a future time; to close the list, I must mention a most interesting communication, entitled Parallels in Folk Lore, which appeared in April.

The letter on Pronominal Forms in Egyptian (November, 1888), not included in the above list, gave rise to a discussion between the President and Professor Sayce (January and May, 1889).

Professor Piehl of Upsala has, as on former occasions, contributed several valuable notes, some in continuation of those printed in the volume for the previous session. Among these may be mentioned: Errata, Textes Egyptiens Inédits (January, 1889), referring to Vol. X, pp. 530-9. Sur le sens du groupe (February, 1889). Notes de Philologie Egyptienne (April, 1889). The continuation of the first of which, I am happy to say, will appear in the current number (December, 1889) of the *Proceedings*.

Professor Maspero has favoured us with two interesting papers, La Reine Sîtra (April, 1889), and Quelques Termes d'Architecture Égyptienne (June, 1889); to the latter of which I should wish to call the special attention of those more particularly interested in the art of building as practised by the ancient Egyptians. I am happy to be able to state that Professor Maspero has kindly promised me to send at no very distant date a longer paper of considerable interest.

In the *Proceedings* of May 7 was printed an interesting paper by Prof. August Eisenlohr, describing the Egyptian Antiquities at Brussels.

To one of our most regular and valued correspondents we have been indebted, as in former years, for several communications calling attention to texts and antiquities which have either escaped notice, or upon which new light has been thrown. From Dr. Wiedemann we have received Some Monuments of Mont at Thebes (January, 1889); Stelæ of Libyan Origin (April, 1889); Texts in the Collection of Mr. Lee (June, 1889); Texts of the Second Part of the Eighteenth Dynasty (June, 1889).

Mr. F. L. Griffith, of the British Museum, whose recently published work, presented to our library, includes some of the collections of inscriptions made by him in Egypt, besides an illustrated paper with suggested

corrections of the received text of the d'Orbiney Papyrus (March, 1889, continued with the same title in the June number), has in Notes on a Tour in Upper Egypt (April, 1889), commenced a series of communications which will be of great assistance to students.

The last note of the Egyptian section to be mentioned is that by the Rev. Henry George Tomkins, to whom we have often been indebted for papers dealing with the interesting subject of the identification of Towns mentioned in the Egyptian lists of conquests: Note on the Name Nepiriuriu in the Karnak Lists of Northern Syria (January, 1889).

To turn to the Assyrian section. The Society has been fortunate in being able to publish a large number of translations and texts. Some of the latter now appear in print for the first time, and it is sincerely to be hoped, for the benefit of students, that during the present session some competent scholar will lay before the Society translations of those texts which still remain unexplained.

In June, 1888, two papers were printed, dealing with the important discovery at Tel-el-Amarna of tablets with cuneiform writing. The first, a valuable catalogue, by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge, with selected specimens of those obtained by the British Museum. The second, by Prof. Sayce, describing and translating tablets preserved in other collections. A fitting supplement to the latter is found in Prof. Sayce's paper, entitled, The Cuneiform Tablets of Tel-el-Amarna now preserved in the Boulaq Museum (June, 1889).

Besides this paper, which gives translations of a large number of texts, the Society has been indebted to the same writer for two other short letters (November, 1888), Note on the Babylonian Weight (see Vol. X, p. 464), and Greek Graffiti at Abydos (June, 1889; see also Vol. X, p. 377).

The valuable series of papers by the Rev. C. J. Ball, commenced in the last volume of the *Proceedings*, has been continued, and I may say nearly completed. It must be a subject of sincere congratulation to the Society to have now for the first time so large a number of texts and translations collected together recording the actions of a king who played so important a part in Bible history. The following is a list of those in the present volume:—

Inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar the Great. Parts VII and VIII (February, 1889). Part IX.—The Cylinder 85. 4–30 in the British Museum, eight plates (March, 1889). Part X.—The Cylinder A.H. 82–7–14, 1342, British Museum; and Notes on the Cylinders 68–7–9, I (5, R. 34) and A.H. 82–7–14, 1042 [(A) and (B)] (April, 1889). Part XI.—The Nin-Mag Cylinders (May, 1889), which gave rise to two letters which will be found at the end of the June number. Inscriptions of Nebuchadrezzar the Great; Two passages of Cylinder 85. 4–30, I (June, 1889), of which text eight plates were given in Vol. XI (March).

To these may be added a short note on the Wood called *Urkarina* (February, 1889).

To Dr. Bezold the Society has been indebted for six communications. In the twenty-two plates which are included therein will be found several previously unpublished texts. They are printed with the following titles: The "Woman's Language" of ancient Chaldaea (November, 1888); Some Unpublished Cuneiform Syllabaries, in eight plates (December, 1888); Two Inscriptions of Nabonidus, five plates (January, 1889). On two duplicates of the Babylonian Chronicle, two plates (February, 1889); A Cuneiform list of Gods, two plates (March, 1889); Some unpublished Assyrian "Lists of officials," five plates (May, 1889).

In the communication by Mr. Robert Brown, jun., F.S.A., entitled, Names of Stars in Babylonian (February, 1889), some curious and interesting information has been collected. Mr. Brown having made a special study of ancient Babylonian astronomy, I am glad to be able to report that he has kindly consented to continue the subject in a series of articles to appear in the numbers of *Proceedings* during the present session.

Of those papers dealing with more general subjects, I have already mentioned that of the late Professor William Wright, D.C.L., LL.D., on Kufic Gravestones in the British Museum (November, 1888), a folding plate of specimens of which was issued with the *Proceedings* of November, 1888. The Rev. G. W. Collins, of Cambridge, in a paper entitled 'Ashtoreth and the 'Ashera (June, 1889), has re-opened the interesting question of the exact meanings of these words, in the careful discussion of which he has collected a very considerable amount of interesting matter. Rev. A. Löwy, in a short note (May, 1889), advances a new theory on the origin of the name Damascus, transcribed by him Dameshek, and in the same number, under the title, The Elohistic and Jehovistic Names of Men and Women in the Bible, discusses a subject of considerable interest.

Besides those papers already detailed above, in the section devoted to Egyptian antiquities, Dr. Wiedemann has placed the Society in possession of his studies in another field, and in two papers, on the Legends concerning the Youth of Moses (Part I, December, 1888; Part II, May, 1889), has brought together a large quantity of ancient and curious lore bearing on this subject.

Thus ends the various and valuable series of papers with which the Society has been favoured during the last Session. Before however leaving this portion of my Report, I cannot help referring shortly, and particularly calling attention to the series of papers commenced in the recent December number of the *Proceedings*. Doctors differ very considerably as to the proper position to be assigned to the nation called the Akkadians. For this reason anything based on the scientific principles

of philology which will throw light on so interesting a subject cannot help being carefully scrutinized by many, whether competent or otherwise. In the theory of Mr. Ball, in his papers entitled "The New Akkadian," we certainly have a startling discovery, and one which will work a considerable change in the ordinarily received ideas of East and West. With the strong support of so distinguished a Chinese scholar as Professor Douglas on one side, and the justly esteemed studies of Professor Haupt on the other, leaving aside for a moment the laborious work of Mr. Ball himself, the case seems to be a strong one. And should this theory, as seems probable, stand the hard usage of strict examination and criticism, I cannot help thinking that it must take a foremost place in the philological discoveries of our own century. Our Society I feel will then have good reason for self satisfaction in having been the means of making it known to the world of science.

The Library still continues to increase, and I am happy to say that this desirable improvement has added also to the number of readers, thus extending its value and usefulness. Much has already been done by many kind friends to aid by valuable donations this important part of the Society's endeavours. To some authors we have been indebted for each portion of their writings as issued, and it is to be hoped that such admirable examples will in the future find many imitators. I must here mention the valuable donation of M. Guimet, one of our Honorary Members, who has generously placed the Society in possession of the whole series of the Annales of his magnificent museum. The Society exchanges publications with a large number of kindred Societies, with which several new exchanges of publications have been arranged both at home and abroad. A number of books have been purchased, as funds would allow, by the Council, but I cannot too often repeat that the calls on those funds are greater than they can satisfactorily answer; many works required by students are still wanting, and the series on many subjects still imperfect The books may be borrowed by the members, and it is therefore to be hoped that more assistance will be given, thus placing such works as may be required, within the reach of those who otherwise may have few opportunities of using them. A list of works more especially required for the Library has many times been issued in the Proceedings, to which several responses have been made, and I will ask those who have spare copies of any of those given in the list, or others, will present them to the Library, where I can assure them they will be fully appreciated.

The Audited Balance Sheet annexed shows that the Funds available for the year 1889 have been £721 1s., including a donation for which the Society has been indebted to M. P. J. de Horrack, one of the Honorary Members, and the expenditure in the like period £668 12s. 9d. The Balance carried forward to the current year, 1890, is £52 8s. 3d.

W. HARRY RYLANDS, Secretary. d.

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SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER

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REMARKS ON THE TABLET OF THE THIRTY STARS. PART I.

By Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A.

I.

The Tablet W.A.I. V, 46, No. 1, written in the Babylonian cuneiform, is of great interest in connexion with archaic astronomy and stellar mythology. It is divided into three parts. Part I, lines 1-38, including the obverse and the two first lines of the reverse, is in two columns, the first of which gives the names of thirty stars, and the second their regent divinities. Part II, lines 39-53, is also divided into two columns, the first of which gives a further star-list, and the second adds some remarks and explanations. At the head of this second star-list stand Sakvisa (Mercury), Dilbat (Venus), Lubat (Jupiter), and Nibatanu (Mars).* Part III, lines 54-64, consists of text, not in columns but in two divisions the first containing six, and the second five lines. The Tablet, as of course, is very difficult to transliterate and translate; and the meaning of much in the astronomico-mythological tablets is extremely involved and obscure, even when a satisfactory rendering is possible, these records being essentially for the illuminated, and not for the profane.

^{*} Vide Robt. Brown, Jun., Names of Stars in Babylonian (Proceedings, Feb., 1889, p. 145 et seq.).

⁺ Sayce (Transactions, III, 173).

elsewhere* observed, these "Divinities of the Council" are the thirty stars of the Tablet. (2) A northern portion, occupied by twelve stars called by Diodôros 'dicasts'; and (3) a southern portion, also occupied by twelve stars similarly named. "And they say that the chiefs of the Divinities [of the Council] are twelve in number, to each of whom they assign a month and one of the twelve signs of the Zodiac." Here we see a combination and harmonization of two distinct systems, solar and lunar, and also, apparently, Semitic and Sumero-Akkadian. For in the Semitic Creation Legend, Tablet V, we read (ap. Sayce):—

- 3. "He ordained the year, appointing the signs of the Zodiac (Mizrâta = Mazzârôth, Job xxxviii, 32) over it;
 - 4. For each of the twelve months he fixed three stars."

Here we have no mention of thirty, but twelve central, stars (or Signs), flanked by their paranatellons, northern and southern, the twenty-four "Judges" of Diodôros. Again, in W.A.I. IV, 15, we read (ap. Sayce) of certain spirits:—

Ak. "In the watch of the Thirty (stars) was their office."

As. "In the Signs of the Zodiac was their office."

So that the sphere of the Thirty Stars was equivalent to that of the twelve Signs, and the former concept was rather Sumero-Akkadian, the later Semitic. In a combination of the two divisions and systems, twelve of the thirty necessarily became 'chiefs.'

Although the number thirty, as that of the days of the month, is connected with the Moon and the lunar month of twenty-nine days, thirteen hours, yet these thirty stars do not, strictly speaking, represent the lunar mansions; for they only mark the moon-stations in a very vaguely approximate manner. Thus, in the Arabian lunar mansions, which are accurately mapped out, and named with reference to the Zodiacal Signs, the twenty-first moon-station, *Al Beldah* ("A district"), represents no particular star or stars, but an apparently starless space in the *Archer*.

Dilgan (Capella) is not included amongst the Thirty, but appears in Part II of the Tablet, next to Kaksidi, which I was inclined to identify with Spica, but the balance of authority regards it as being Sirius, and its non-appearance amongst the Thirty, gives additional weight to this opinion. Sibzianna (Arcturus) does not appear in

^{*} The Babylonian Zodiac (The Academy, Jan. 29th, 1887).

either List, and the exclusion of *Capella*, *Arcturus*, and *Sirius* from the "Divinities of the Council," supplies some idea of the limits within which we may look for the Thirty Stars.

Mr. J. F. Hewitt, who has recently published some very interesting remarks on the questions of the archaic Lunar Year and early Euphratean influence in Non-Aryan India,* has called my attention, in connexion with this Tablet, to the Hymn Rig-Veda, X, 189, where "the thirty stations of the day and night" are said to "shine with the rays" of some power, the Sun, according to the native commentators, but, more probably,† the Moon. Another reading is, "He shines for thirty stations," explained by some as "the thirty days of the month."

The stars named in the List in Part II of the Tablet are not placed in uranographic order, but there is very considerable reason to suppose that the Thirty Stars are so placed, if not in all cases exactly, yet, at all events, approximately.

Prof. Sayce, with his usual kindness, and Mr. George Bertin have rendered me much assistance in the study of the Tablet, but I am alone responsible for the views expressed.

II.

The "Divinities of the Council" thus representing thirty more or less prominent stars in or comparatively near to the ecliptic, the very interesting question next arises:—Assuming them to be placed in uranographic order, where does the circle begin? Now, very fortunately, what the thirtieth and last star represents, is, as will be seen, absolutely certain; and, hence, there is a considerable amount of material for the identification of the first star. Of course it is quite *possible* that the stars may not be named in their heavenly order, but the balance of probability is decidedly the other way.

	Line 1, Star	No. 1.		
<u>₹</u>	→ <u></u>		>	4
Kakkab	Apin		'Ilu	Sar
The-Star	of-the-Foundation.	ĺ	The-god	Sar

^{*} Notes on the Early History of Northern India (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXI, New Series).

[†] The place of the Hymn in the Canon, the divinity of the Hymn, Sárparajii, otherwise "Kadru, the mother of the serpent race," and several other points, strongly indicate non-Aryan influence.

Line 38, Star No. XXX.

Kakkab Ma-
$$\left\{\begin{array}{c} khar \\ gur \end{array}\right\}$$
 Kakkab Muna- χ a

The-Star Makhar, (i.e.) the Star of-the-He-goat-fish.

H H OPEN Nabiu û D.P. Ur - me - tum

The-god Nebô and the-god Urmetum.

The male Goat-fish is of course Capricornus, who appears on the monuments much as in a modern almanac,* the ideograph (the reading of which is not quite certain) showing goat + fish + tail; and therefore next to the Goat-fish comes "the Star of the Foundation." This affords a striking illustration that we have before us a lunar circle, for a solar circle would begin with the Ram, or (earlier) the Bull; and the Pleiades, for many reasons, would excellently answer such an appellation as "the Foundation Stars." † But, whilst the "Star of the Foundation" being placed first is strongly suggestive of an orderly, as opposed to a hap-hazard arrangement, on this theory we are necessarily precluded from identifying it with the Pleiades. One star would be the 'Foundation,' or first star, in a solar scheme and another in a lunar scheme; and the term 'foundation' may be used in various senses. Thus Ur (), the horizon, was also "the god of the Foundation," the nadir. Mr. Pinches prefers to translate Apin by 'channel,' but Messrs. Sayce, Bertin, and Budge read 'foundation.' Mr. Bertin, in accordance with his linguistic views, would render the star-name by the Semitic equivalent Ussu. In W.A.I. III, 53, No. 1, l. 2, we read (ap. Sayce):—"The star Apin portends a gate to be begun," which reminds us of Tablet K. 2894,

^{*} Vide Robert Brown, Jun., The Heavenly Display, Fig. 58.

[†] This is well illustrated by the Indian Nakshatras or lunar mansions, the order of which has been changed several times and in different ways. "One ancient order of the asterisms" commences with Kruttiká, the Pleiades, "precisely as we find it among the Chinese" (Weber, History of Indian Literature, 247). The second asterism is Rohini ("The Red-one," "a red cow") = Aldebaran ("the Follower," of the Pleiades). The names of the twenty-eight Pahlavi lunar mansions are given in corrupt Pâzand forms in the Bundahis, cap. ii, the first of them being Padêvar, which corresponds with the Indian Aśvini, and the Arabian El Sheratain ("The Two Signs"), and consists of a and β Arietis, a solar commencement.

[‡] Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 118, 249.

"The constellation of the *Scorpion* (*Girtab*) portends a foundation";* but *Apin* is not *Girtab*, which latter is No. XXVI in the List of the Thirty Stars. There was both a vernal and an autumnal 'foundation,' but those were solar. That *Apin* was in the ecliptic we also learn from S. 375 (ap. Budge), "The Star of the Foundation (*Apin*) the road of the sun took."† Its importance we may gather from the "Saints' Calendar" Tablet, translated by Professor Sayce‡:—"The twenty-fifth day (is) the processional day of Bel and Beltis of Babylon. A lucky day. In the night the king presents his free-will offering to Bel before the Star of the Foundation."

The winter solstice was a natural commencement of the year, and the Boiôtian, Delphian, and Bithynian years began at this period.§ The appearance of the first full moon after the winter solstice "is still celebrated as the chief annual festival of the Dravidians of southern India, where it marks the beginning of the year"; and a list of Tamil (Dravidian) lunar and solar lunar months, given by Mr. Hewitt, is in exact agreement with the Tablet of the Thirty Stars. This list is as follows:—

TAMIL LUNAR LIST. TAMIL SOLAR-LUNAR LIST.

I.	Tai.	Kumbha, "The Watering-pot."
2.	Maussi.	Minam, "The Fishes."
3.	Panguni.	Mesham, "The Ram."
4.	Chittri.	Rishabam, "The Bull."
5-	Vayası.	Midhunam, "The Twins."
6.	Auni.	Kartakam, "The Crab."
7.	Audi.	Simham, "The Lion."
8.	Auvani.	Kauni, "The Girl."
9.	Purattasi	Tulam, "The Balance."
10.	Arpesi.	Vrishakam, "The Scorpion."
11.	Kartikai	Dhamsu, "The Archer."
12.	Margali.	Makaram, "The Goat-fish."

^{*} Vide Proceedings, Feb. 1889, p. 145.

[‡] Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 74.

[§] Vide Lewis, Astronomy of the Ancients, 29.

[|] Hewitt, Early Hist. of Northern India, 551-2.

The signs of the Zodiac reached India through the Greeks,* and duly appear in the Tamil Solar-lunar list, but they are found in a non-solar order, and in one which, harmonizing with the Euphratean Tablet, places *Capricorn*, styled *Makaram*, and by Hindu writers elsewhere, "the Makara," last, and, consequently, the *Urn* of *Aquarius* first.

Elsewhere,† when treating of the ten Antediluvian Babylonian Kings in connexion with the ecliptic, I have shown that the legendary lengths of their reigns correspond with the distances separating certain ecliptical stars; and when allowance has been made for variance in tradition and alteration in records, the agreement is very remarkable. The list appears thus:—

King.	Reign in Stars.		Degrees.	Point in Ecliptic.	Degrees.
Alôros	10	=	30	Hamal	31
Alaparos	3	=	9	Alcyone	10
3rd King	13	=	39	Aldebaran	43
4th ,,	I 2	=	36	Pollux	36
5th ,,	18	=	54	Regulus	53
6th ,,	10	=	30	Spica	44
7th ,,	18	=	54	Antares	53
8th ,,	10	=	30	Algedi	20
9th ,,	8	=	24	Deneb Alqedi	16
10th "	18	=	54	Skat	54
	120		360		360

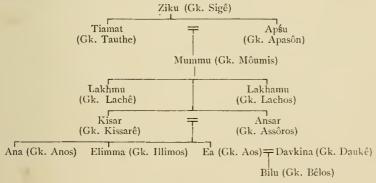
The arrangement here is solar, but it will be observed that both Algedi ("the Goat," = a^1 and a^2 Capricorni, twin stars in the head of Caper) and Deneb Algedi ("the Goat's Tail," = δ Capricorni) appear in it, with Skat ("the Leg," = δ Aquarii), also styled Sakib ("the Pourer"); κ Aquarii is especially called Situla ("the Urn"), the constellation generally, the Burj ad dalu ("The Constellation of the Pitcher") of the Arabs, appearing in the Tamil List as Kumbha ("the Watering-pot"). There are, therefore, strong reasons for identifying the Kakkab Apin with Skat, or with Skat and the adjoining stars, since kakkab also signifies 'constellation'; and the meaning of 'channel,' suggested by Mr. Pinches, would be

^{*} Vide Max Müller, India, what can it teach us? 322 et seq.; Robt. Brown, Jun., The Law of Kosmic Order, Sec. VIII.

⁺ The Heavenly Display, Appendix ii.

exceedingly appropriate for a star or an asterism which marks (and may have marked at a remote period) the flow from the Urn. The "Channel" star may have become the "Foundation" star by a secondary meaning. "The channels of waters" ($\alpha i \pi \eta \gamma a i \tau \hat{\nu} \hat{\nu} \hat{\nu} \hat{\nu} \hat{\nu} \hat{a} \tau w \hat{\nu}$) are connected by the Hebrew poet with "the foundations of the world" * ($\tau \hat{a} \theta \epsilon \mu \hat{e} \lambda \iota a \tau \hat{\eta} s \sigma i \kappa \sigma \nu \mu \hat{e} \nu \eta s$).† In this part of the heaven is situated the Great Deep, wherein swim Cetus ("the Sea-monster"), the three Fish, the Dolphin, and the Sea-goat; and its position here in connexion with the 'Foundation' and 'Goat' stars, alike at the beginning and end of things, is in perfect accordance with Sumero-Akkadian belief respecting the Abzu or "watery abyss which was the source of all things," ‡ and which in one aspect is, and in another contains, the Tiamat or Cetus-monster.§

The ruling divinity of the "Star of the Foundation" is appropriately the god Sar, Ak. An-sar, the power of the upper expanse, who is named in the Creation Legend, and whose name "is generally read Assur as a deity in later times, being an ordinary symbol for the supreme god of the Assyrians." || His position in the interesting Euphratean Theogony preserved by Damaskios, is shown by the following table:—



The very prominent position of the Goat in archaic religion and

* Psalm, xviii, 15. † LXX, in loc.

III.

[‡] Vide Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 374. The Sumerian zuab-abzu, Semitic apśu, seems to have been the origin of the famous magical word $\zeta \dot{a} \psi$, said to mean "the sea" (vide Clemens Alex., Stromata, V, 8).

[§] Vide Robt. Brown, Jun., Eridanus, River and Constellation, 16.

[|] Smith, Chaldean Account of Genesis, 61.

mythology is well known. It was a sacred animal alike in the Euphrates and Nile Vallies; it equally appears in connexion with the Vedic Pushan, the Semitic Dionysos, the Hellenic Athena, and the Norse Thorr; and this prominence has ensured its entry into the Semitic Zodiac. Line 38 may possibly speak of two stars, together forming an asterism, but I do not think that such is the case, for in line 34, where two stars are undoubtedly mentioned, they are coupled in the ordinary way by the conjunction \langle , $v\hat{a}$, 'and.' I think, therefore, that, as in many similar instances, we should read, "The Star Makhar, the Star* of the Goat-fish," which, from several indications, seems to have been conterminous with Capricorn. This Sign and its stars are further illustrated by W.A.I. III, 57, No. 7, Sec. IV, where we read:—

Kakkab Dil-bat ina arakh Sabadhi nip-kha

The-star Venus in the-month Sebat a-rising (makes).

Professor Sayce reads "with tails," but this I do not understand. Mr. Bertin writes, "In Arabic, as was shown by Redhouse, the fox or wolf's tail is the Zodiacal Light. Could it be possible to see *Venus* in the Zodiacal Light at sunrise"? I think so, and the nearer the equator the more easily would this sight be seen. But the passage speaks of 'tails,' which negatives the idea of the single tail of the Zodiacal Light; and the scribe, who has in his mind the constellational figures in this quarter of the heavens, refers, I think, to the closely adjoining tails of *Capricorn* and the *Southern Fish*, for, as we shall see, "the Star of the *Fish*" is mentioned next to the Star of the *Goat-fish*.

Kakkab Dil-bat ina arakh Sabadhi yumu 2

The-star Venus in the-month Sebat on-day the-second (and)

Y YY

yumu 3 icassid-va ina karni
day the-third is-in-the-ascendant and on the-horn (of the Goat)

^{*} I include 'constellation' under the term 'star,' when necessary, as kakkab can mean either.

- 5. Rises. In the month Sebat on the first day on the horn of the constellation of the Yoke (Niru, [E]] ... (it is seen and)
- 6. Crosses (i-ti-ik).
- 三三次 三年三 三十 4个》4一4三 saku-sa-risi kakkabi Kakkab Uz Muna-va The-star of-the-Goat = the-top-of-the-head of-the-constellation of-the-Goat-fish.

This explanatory line shows that the Star Uz = Algedi, and, hence, that the Goat-fish was conterminous with our Capricorn; and I may observe that it is a striking illustration (and one at the time quite unknown to me) of the principle on which I have endeavoured to explain the origin of the Signs of the Zodiac, and many other mythological symbols, i.e., as reduplications of simpler ideas connected with natural phenomena. The Akkadian goat-god Uz is a solar divinity who, clad in goat-skins, presides over the revolution of the sun;* and the Goat-sun is reduplicated in the Goat-star. Astrologers for centuries, and without knowing why, have termed the twelve Signs alternately "diurnal" and "nocturnal"; and this is quite correct, inasmuch as they were in origin simply diurnal and nocturnal phases familiar to what I may style the mythological imagination, not arbitrary inventions or products of mental imbecility, but ideas which arose naturally and spontaneously in the mind. On such an analysis the twelve signs appear thus:-

I-DIURNAL SIGNS.

II—NOCTURNAL SIGNS.

- I. The Moon-bull, afterwards Taurus. 1. The Ram-sun, afterwards, Aries.
- 2. Sun and Moon, " Gemini.
- 2. Darkness,
- ,, Cancer.

- 3. The Lion-sun,
- Leo.
- 3. The Moon,
- Virgo.

- 4. The Holy-sun,
- Ara. +
- 4. Darkness,

- 5. The Archer-sun,

- " Scorpio.

- 6. The Rain-giving sun ,, Aquarius.
- Sagittarius. 5. The Sea-sun
- " Capricornus.

- 6. The Nocturnal sun ,, Piscis. ‡

^{*} Vide Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 284-5.

⁺ Vide Robt. Brown, Jun., The Heaveniy Display, 65; Proceedings, Feb 1889, p. 146. Achilleus Tatios says of the Claws (of the Scorpion), τας χηλας τας καλουμένας υπ' Αίγυπτίων Ζυγον (= Libra).

[‡] Afterwards Pisces. "The double mouth Adar and Ve-Adar would be the origin of the double Pisces" (Sayce, Transactions, III, 166).

Mr. Pinches has supplied me with the next line, one which does not appear in the W.A.I.:—

8a. The constellation of the Yoke = the Goat-fish.

An interesting instance of the fact that the same star, or constellation, may be, and often was, known by various names. In W.A.I. III, 57, No. 4, line 5, it is stated that "the constellation of the Yoke like a flag (As. dagilu, Heb. degel) floated"; and as the Yoke = the Goat-fish, we are confirmed in the view that the latter equalled Capricorn in extent. The notion of a 'yoke' placed on the ecliptic is familiar to ourselves from the instance of the Greek constellation $Zv\gamma \dot{o}s$ (= $X\eta\lambda\dot{a}\iota$), where the idea, which arose in Egypt in comparatively late times, is apparently suggested by the star-grouping as well as by the equinox; and so, here, the ends of the Yoke would be the head and tail-stars of Caper, which alone are remarkable, the constellation, as a whole, being "the dusky Goat."* The head and tail stars would form the ends of the 'Flag.'†

In W.A.I. III, 53, No. 1, reverse, line 29, we meet with "the constellation of the *Yoke*, the star of Gula, ‡ the star....the constellation of the *Goat-fish*." The sense is uncertain; the passage might mean that some of these stars are identical.

The XXIXth Star of the Tablet is:—

^{*} Aratos, Phainomena, 702.

[†] The Flag, as a distinct constellation, appears in a MS. of the XVth century in my possession. Its stars are taken out of Leo and Virgo (vide Robt. Brown, Jun., On the Origin of the Signs of the Zodiac, in Archaeologia XLVII, Pt. ii).

[‡] Betelgeux (a Orionis), according to Messrs. Sayce and Bosanquet.

[§] As. tamti.

And those stars are found in similar order in W.A.I. III, 57, No. 4, reverse, where we read:—

[AN. 14]

Kakkab Dil-bat* ana kakkab Tamti dikhu

The Star Venus to the Star of the Sea opposite (is).

- 2 The star Dilbat to the Star of the Fish (\(\forall \)(\)\(\)(\) is opposite.

 The star Dilbat to the constellation of the Goat-fish is opposite.
- 3 The star Dilbat to the Star of the Foundation is opposite.

Here, in each case the three stars (or asterisms) of the Sea, the Goat-Fish, and the Foundation appear in the same order. By the "Star of the Fish," I think we may understand Fomalhaut (Fom-al-hut. "the-mouth-of-the-Fish," a Piscis). We meet again with Capricorn and its stars in W.A.I. III. 57, No. 7, Sec. I:—

D.P. Sin. D.P. Sar - ner - ra

The-Moon, - The King of the Foundation (and)

D.P. Gal - lam - ta - ud - du - a ina bi - rit karni kakkabi.

The - Bull - of - the - Rising - Sunt close to the - horn of - the - constellation (of the Goat - fish are).

Kakkab Uz.‡ innamiru-va yumu 3 nazuzu.

(They and) the star of the Goat are seen and on-day the third they-are-fixed.

- * Mr. Bertin (The Pre-Akkadian Semites, 15) prefers to read Dil-mut, but Hêsychios gives $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\phi$ a τ (= Dil-bat, "Proclaim + old," = "the Ancient Proclaimer"), $\dot{\delta}$ $\tau\hat{\eta}s$ 'A ϕ po $\hat{\epsilon}i\tau\eta s$ $\dot{a}s\tau\hat{\eta}p$, $\dot{\nu}\tau\hat{\sigma}$ Xa $\lambda\hat{\epsilon}ai\omega\nu$. The name thus corresponds with Lu-bat, "Old Sheep" or "Old Ox," an Akkadian appellation for the planets.
- † Prof. Sayce renders Gallamta-uddua, "He-who-goes-forth-in-strength" (Transactions, III, 175), which, I presume, is an Assyrian paraphrase. Cf. a usual name of Mercury, Sul-pa-ud-da or Sulpa-uddua, "The-messenger-of-the rising-sun."
 - ‡ As. Enzu; Algedi, as shown above.

- 5. The god Sar-ner-ra and the god Gal-lam-ta (are)
- 6. D.P. Gut-tav* ("Bull of heaven," i.e. Jupiter) and D.P. Nibat (Mars).

In the tablet of the Thirty Stars, line 4, Sarnerra and Gallamta-uddua appear as joint regent divinities of Star No. IV, Bar-tab-ba-gal-gal-la.†

In W.A.I. III, 57, No. 1, Sec. I, we read:

- 2. Kakkab Gut-tav ina kakkabi Gu-la yu-dan-nat The-Star Jupiter in the-constellation of-Gula lingers.

From this it is evident that the asterism of Gula consists of more than the single star *Betelgeux*.

Sec. II, 2:--

D.P. Gut-tav ina kakkabi Muna - χa yu - dan-nat-va Jupiter in the-constellation of-the-Goat-fish lingers,‡ and

3. The-star Nun-ki ("Prince-of-the-earth") measured a measure (=rose). In the tablet of the Thirty Stars, the Star - III IEI, Nun-ki, is equated with No. XXIX, "the Star of the Proclamation of the Sea," and thus in each case appears next the Goat-fish.

From another passage W.A.I., 53, 24-6, \$ we find that *Dilbat* (*Venus*) was named in different months after the fixed stars which she approached, so that in one month she was styled "the Star of

- * As gut = gud, Prof. Sayce suggests that the Pheenician name of the planet Gad ("Good-fortune," cf. Isaiah, lxv, 11) may be hence derived, with a Semitic meaning added.
- † "The Great Twins" (vide *Proceedings*, Feb. 1889, p. 151) are *Castor* and *Pollux* in the solar scheme, but not in the lunar; there are, of course, many twin stars and twin asterisms in the heavens.
- ‡ This reference to the slow motion of *Jupiter*, so different from "the gallop of *Fomalhaut*" near at hand, and "the rapid transits of the *Ram*" (Aratos, *Phainomena*, 225), shows real astronomical observation.
- § Ap. Sayce, Transactions, III, 196. "The Star of the Goat" was formerly rendered "the Star of the Double Ship."

Gula," in the next "the Star of the Goat," and in the next Dilgan ("Messenger-of-light," Capella).

Star No. XXIX, Nunki, I would identify with Altair (Al Tayr, "the Bird," a Aquilæ), a star of the first magnitude which mounts with the Goat,* and proclaims the coming of the vast watery space which extends in the south from the Eagle to Orion, and is occupied by the Dolphin, the Sea-goat, Aquarius, the three Fish, the Sea-monster, and the River Eridanus. Aratos, who, as I have shown,† constantly preserves archaic observations and ideas, thus speaks of this celestial locality:—

"Beneath the Goat, below the southern blasts,
Turned towards the Monster hang's on high a Fish
The Southern called, distinct from those forenamed.
And others scattered 'neath the Waterpourer,
In midst between the Monster and the Fish,
Are seen in ether, dim and nameless; near
The right hand of the famous Waterpourer,
Like a slight flow of water here and there
Scattered around, bright stars revolve but small,
More clearly 'mid them move a pair of orbs,
Not very far away nor very near,
One ‡ large and bright by both the Pourer's feet,
The other § 'neath the dusky Monster's tail,
And all are called the Water."

IV.

I do not find any satisfactory Aryan etymology of *Makara*, the Indian name for *Capricorn*. It is explained as (1) a fabulous animal, emblem of the god of love; (2) a dolphin, and (3) a seamonster; and the ocean is styled "the receptacle of Makaras." The Bab. It is the As. It is is the As. If As. It is a selippu, 'ship'; It has several phonetic values, *khar*, *gur*, *ur*, and several meanings, amongst which are 'bond,' and 'bracelet,' as that which binds. *Makhar* might therefore mean "the-Ship-of-the-bond" (rope). Now the Akkadian Ôkeanos, which in idea

^{*} Aratos, Phainomena, 682-91.

[†] Vide Robt. Brown, Jun., The Phainomena or 'Heavenly Display' of Aratos: done into English verse, 1885.

I Fomalhaut.

[§] Diphda ("the Frog," B Ceti).

^{||} Aratos, Phainomena, 386-99. "Cunctis nomen Aqua est" (Avienus, Aratea, 841).

greatly resembles the Homeric, is sometimes compared to a snake, like the Norse Midhgardhsormr ("Serpent-of-Midgard," *i.e.*, Earth), and sometimes to a rope, "and was then called 'the rope of the great god'";* and, in accordance with this idea, we find that the solar goat-god Uz is depicted as "watching the revolution of the solar disk, which is placed upon a table and slowly turned by means of a rope."† That is to say, this Ôkeanos-rope, which includes the Oversea in heaven above, by its flowing on turns the sun round in it and with it. Hence, "the Ship of the Rope" would be the solar vessel sailing in the all-encircling Ôkeanos; and, as such, would be identical with the solar Capricorn.‡ Considering the



FIG. I. CAPRICORN. (FROM BABYLONIAN URANOGRAPHIC STONE.)



FIG. II. CAPRICORN. (FROM A EUPHRATEAN BOUNDARY STONE.)

^{*} Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 116.

[†] Ibid., 285.

[‡] As to the solar Ship, vide Robt. Brown, Jun., Eridanus, Sec. V; The Law of Kosmic Order, Sec. XIX. The Sea-goat.

archaic intercourse between Southern Babylonia and India, * it was as easy for the word makara to have been exported, as for the word sindhu ('muslin'), "which is found in an ancient Babylonian list of clothing," to have been imported; and when we remember the very remarkable agreement in the important point of commencement between the Tablet and the Tamil mouth-list, † we see how greatly this inference is strengthened. But the investigation of this archaic eastern sea-traffic has only just begun; and doubtless much will be revealed by subsequent researches.

If, however, *Makhar* and the *Goat-fish* are, as is possible, two distinct asterisms, then we may identify the former with the *Dolphin*, of which Aratos says:—

"Now near the *Goat* the *Dolphin* speeds along, Dim in the midst; and round it lie four stars Which parallel are fixed by two and two";‡

his *Dolphin* occupying the space now filled by *Delphinus* and *Equuleus* (the *Colt*). The Akkadian name for 'dolphin' is unknown, but its Assyrian name was *nakhira*, from the Syriac word for 'nostril,' "in reference to the animal's blow-hole." §

The regent divinities of the constellation of the Goat-fish are the gods Nabiu (Nebô, the "Proclaimer") and Urmetum ("Hero-who-proclaims"); and these are evidently one divinity, the former name being Semitic, the latter Akkadian, just as Makhar and Muna χa are probably one constellation. Nebô, in origin, is "the Sun of the Dawn," who proclaims the day, the solar Goat climbing the heavenly steep out of the abyss (sea) of the Underworld, night, and east, and so half fish; and, thus, as an ultimate analysis, Nebô and Capricorn are identical.

Thus, by means of the constellation of the *Goat-fish*, with its adjoining stars of the *Sea*, the *Fish*, and the *Foundation*, we are enabled to determine the beginning and the end of the Thirty Stars and we further observe that this beginning indicates a year commencing at the winter solstice, several other examples of which I have mentioned. Amongst others, the old Athenian year began

^{*} Vide Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 137-8.

[†] Vide sup. p. 141. ‡ Phainomena, 316-18.

[§] Rev. Wm. Houghton, in Transactions, V, 363.

^{||} Vide Sup. p. 141.

at this period, whilst in the reformed Metonic calendar of cir. B.C. 432, it was made to commence on the first new moon after the summer solstice. So Avienus writes:—

"Primaeua Meton exordia sumpsit ab anno, Torreret rutilo cum Phoebus sidere Cancrum."*

I may add that "the English began their year on the 25th of December until the time of William the Conqueror," when the historical year was made to commence on January 1, the date of his coronation.

* Aratea, 1373-4.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 4th February, 1890 at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:—

Ernest de Bunsen:—"The Pharaohs of Moses according to Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology."

A. L. Lewis:—"Some Suggestions respecting the Exodus."



THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.	
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.	
Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmael I—III (Brugsch).	er. Vols.
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DUMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.	
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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XII. TWENTIETH SESSION.

Fourth Meeting, February 4th, 1890.

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BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

Fourth Meeting, 4th February, 1890.

F. D. MOCATTA, Esq., Vice-President, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, Prof. C. P. Tiele:—(Letterkundig oversicht.) Assyriaca.

Notice of Works by A. H. Sayce, Dr. Alfred Jeremias, Hugo Winckler, Eberhard Schrader, Friedrich Delitzsch, H. Zimmern, J. Epping, S.J.

From the Author, Prof. C. P. Tiele:—Notice of Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte von Hugo Winckler.

From Jos. Pollard:—The Bible and Modern Discoveries. By Henry A. Harper. 8vo. London. 1890.

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated on 14th January, 1890:—

George A. Barton, care of J. N. Danforth, 13, Pearl Street, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

No. LXXXIX.]

The following were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 4th February, 1890:—

Rev. Frederic H. J. McCormick, F.S.A. Scot., Whitehaven, Cumberland.

Rev. J. C. Bradley, B.A., Queen's Coll., Oxford, Rector of Sutton-under-Brails.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Lancashire College, Whalley Range, Manchester.

A paper was read by Ernest de Bunsen, entitled, "The Pharaohs of Moses according to Hebrew and Egyptian Chronology."

A paper was read by A. L. Lewis, entitled, "Some Suggestions respecting the Exodus."

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. P. R. Reed, Rev. James Marshall, Mr. de Bunsen, and the Chairman.

The Rev. Robert Gwynne remarked that Mr. de Bunsen's assumption that the Hyksos were the oppressors of the Hebrews, was inconsistent with the usual opinion that they were of kindred Semitic origin, and would therefore be naturally inclined to favour the Hebrews. The oppressors were more likely to be of the native Egyptian race.

Mr. Lewis (in reply to observations made) said that the question whether Amenhotep IV and Khuenaten were one or two persons, did not affect his theory, as Khuenaten was in either case the later. The location of the Hebrews while in Egypt, and the route taken by them in leaving it, were also points which did not affect the matter. As Ramessu II is said to have set out from Rameses before fighting the battle of Kadesh in his fifth year, it was extremely unlikely that he founded the city, though in his later years he no doubt made great additions to it. It was not stated that the Pharaoh was drowned at the Exodus, and therefore any objection as to the time of year when Horemhebi or Ramessu I died, or the existence of a tomb or mummy of either, would have no weight.

Thanks were returned for these communications.

THE PHARAOHS OF MOSES ACCORDING TO HEBREW AND EGYPTIAN CHRONOLOGY.

By Ernest de Bunsen.

In this Essay the attempt will be made to prove that Ahmes was the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Amenophis I the Pharaoh of the Exodus, in which case Moses lived about two centuries and a half earlier than hitherto supposed.

It is generally assumed that the Hyksos were the bondmasters of the Hebrews. According to the Elkab inscription, the Hyksos were expelled from Avaris and from Egypt in 'the year five' of Ahmes, the founder of the XVIIIth Dynasty.* The bondage of the Hebrews, which according to Genesis lasted 400 years, would therefore have come to its end at the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, certainly in the sixteenth century, not at the commencement of the XIXth Dynasty. Yet Ramses II is held to have been the Pharaoh of the oppression, and Menephtha the Pharaoh of the Exodus.

If the year B.C. 2360 was the year of the Flood, and therefore, according to Genesis, the starting point of Hebrew chronology, as it will be proved further on, Hebrews under Abraham migrated from Haran 367 years later,† that is, in 1993. Nothing is opposed to the assumption that they entered Egypt the same year, and that then—not under Jacob—the bondage began. If this can now be proved beyond the possibility of a doubt, the attractive legends about Joseph's meeting his brethren, though conveying a true description of Egyptian conceptions and mode of life, will turn out to be essentially unhistorical.

According to Biblical tradition the Exodus under Moses took place 430 years after the Exodus under Abraham, say in 1563. Thirty years have accordingly to be added to the 400 years of bondage, either before or after it, for the dwelling in Egypt.‡ The

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^{*} Records of the Past, vi, 5-10; lines 12-15, 21-26. "We took Avaris... we laid siege to Sharhana in the year five, and His Majesty (Neb-Pehti-Ra, or Ahmes), took it."

⁺ Gen. xi, 10-32.

[‡] Gal. iii, 17; Exod. xii 40, 41.

Biblical year for the Exodus, 1563, if the 430 years are reckoned from 1993, falls certainly within the reign of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and so does the year 1558, in which, according to Orosius, the Exodus under Moses took place.* The difference of only five years between 1558 and 1563 may have been caused by the still prevailing supposition that the pursuing Pharaoh was drowned in the Red Sea, what the Biblical records do not assert. The Spanish presbyter Orosius, who spent many years in Africa, and was the intimate friend of the learned Jerome, can have known that the death of Amenophis I, whom he must have regarded as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, took place in B.C. 1558, as it will become quite certain further on. For if it can now be proved that Ahmes ascended the throne in 1598, Amenophis I reigned from 1571–1558. Orosius could likewise know, that in the last or thirteenth regnal year this Pharaoh finally expelled the strangers, according to Manetho.†

In order to be able to fix the year when the Hyksos dominion came to an end, it is necessary to assign a calendrian year to the expulsion of the 'Asiatic barbarians' from Avaris in 'the year five' This was hitherto impossible, because not a single of Ahmes. political event in early Egyptian history could be connected with a calendrian year. It is acknowledged as a fact that the twentieth regnal year of Shishak-Sheshenk, in which, as implied by the Silsilis inscription, his northern campaign took place, therefore also the capture of Jerusalem, was identical with the fifth regnal year of Rehoboam, since according to the Bible Shishak's capture of Jerusalem took place in that year. But for the time of Rehoboam's reign no positive calendrian dates could be given. On the assumption that the Biblical year for the Flood is B.C. 2360, we now proceed to prove that the year B.C. 928 was the fifth regnal year of Rehoboam and the twentieth of Shishak.

Instead of the 480 years assigned in the first Book of Kings to the period from the Exodus under Moses to Solomon's founda-

^{*} Orosius, contra Gentes, ii, 10. 'In the year 805 before the foundation of the city.. when Egyptians suffered from scurvy and leprosy, they expelled, on the advice of an oracle, Moses and those who were diseased beyond the borders of Egypt. Appointed as leader of the exiled, he secretly carried away with him the holy things. Then the Egyptians tried to recover (them) by force of arms, but were forced by storms to return.'

[†] Josephus contra Apionem, I, 26-35.

tion of the Temple, 592 years must be reckoned for this period, according to the repeated statement of Josephus, who does not even mention the 480 years of the Bible.* The successive chronological data here transmitted for the time from the division of the land under Joshua until Samuel amount exactly to 450 years, provided that either we allow no time for the indefinite period without a leader after the division of the land and before Chusan-Risathaim, transmitted in Judges ii, 6-8, or that the probable 32 years of Samuel's judgeship are indefinitely shortened. In the latter case there could not have been any definite period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple, neither one of 480 years nor one of 592 years. Paul refers to the period of 450 years,† and it is exactly according to the Scripture. If to 450 we add only the 40 years from the Exodus to the succession of Moses by Joshua, we get already ten years more than the entire period from the Exodus to the foundation of the Temple is said to have lasted. We have sufficient reason for assuming that this period has indeed extended over 592 years. For only on this supposition, and by starting from B.C. 2360 as the Biblical year for the Flood, we arrive at the synchronisms which comparative chronology demands.‡ We accordingly get B.C. 971 for the foundation of the Temple, 934 for Solomon's death, and, after a chaotic period of two years, according to the Septuagint, 932 for Rehoboam's accession to the throne, therefore 928 for his fifth regnal year, which is also the twentieth of Shishak.

The thirty-four years which Manetho ascribes to this Pharaoh can now be asserted to include the thirteen years during which Sheshenk was only co-regent with his father-in-law Psusennes II or Pisebkam. For the XXIst Dynasty of Royal High-priests, to which Psusennes belonged, Manetho has transmitted 130 years; for the XXIInd Dynasty, that of Sheshenk, 135; for the XIXth Dynasty 162; for the XVIIIth Dynasty, 236 years. It being now certain that Sheshenk's co-regency of thirteen years began in 948, Ahmes

^{*} Josephus contra Apionem, II, 2.

[†] Acts xiii, 20.

[‡] Thus, only on this supposition, the first Assyrian campaign to Ashdod and Judah, in the year 711, according to Assyrian date, coincides with the fourteenth of Hezekiah, in which, according to the Bibie, this event took place; then the battle of Karkar on the Orontes falls within the reign of Ahab (Biblical Chronology, p. 94).

would have ascended the throne 663 years before Sheshenk, that is, in 1611; but, after the necessary deduction of the thirteen years, it is now proved that Ahmes began his government in B.C. 1598, so that his fifth regnal year was 1593. This is exactly the 400th year after 1993, the Biblical year for the Exodus of Hebrews from Haran, whose immigration into Egypt, according to the above chronology, took place in the same year. The servitude of the Hebrews in Egypt had lasted exactly 400 years in 'the year five' of Ahmes, from 1993-1593, and thirty years after this date of the Elkab inscription they were led out of Egypt by Moses, in the Biblical year for this event, 430 years after the Exodus from Haran, that is, in 1563. The Hebrews have therefore sojourned 430 years in Egypt, as recorded in the Book of Exodus, and in that land which was not theirs they served its rulers, and these did afflict them 400 years, as transmitted in the Book of Genesis.*

The Pharaoh of the Exodus was Amenophis I, the 'Amenophis' of Manetho, during whose reign of thirteen years the second occupation of Egypt by the Hyksos took place, whose return was assisted by the leprous people or Hebrews according to Manetho, that is, according to the Elkab inscription (line 22), by 'rebels' who 'joined them.' Not only do the thirteen years of Manetho correspond with the thirteen regnal years of Amenophis I, but whilst Manetho refers to the retirement of 'Amenophis' to Ethiopia, the Elkab inscription refers to the 'journey up to Kush' of 'King Sor-Ka-Ra,' that is, of Amenophis I (line 23).† Manetho calls this Amenophis the son of Ramses, and there was a Prince Ramses belonging to the family of Ahmes. Amenophis I may have been a grandson of Ahmes.

A harmony so extraordinary between Hebrew and Egyptian chronology and history it would be impossible to explain by a mere chance coincidence. This result has been obtained by establishing a calendrian year for the fifth of Rehoboam which is likewise the twentieth of Shishak, and by reckoning backwards from this year B.C. 928 to the accession of Ahmes the regnal years of the Pharaohs transmitted by Manetho.

This new result can be raised to the dignity of a fact by the now possible explanation of the 390 years announced by the vision

^{*} Gen. xv, 13; Ex. xii, 40, 41.

[†] Manetho in Josephus cont. Ap., I, 26-35.

recorded in the fourth chapter of Ezekiel. These 390 years, decreed for the 'iniquity' of Israel, are implied to have begun by a siege of Jerusalem, evidently that of Shishak; for if reckoned from B.C. 928, the 390 years reach to 538, the year of Cyrus' edict, which permitted the return to Jerusalem. To this year of 'redemption' refers the fortieth chapter in the Book of Isaith. The author announces to Jerusalem that her 'time of servitude is accomplished, that her iniquity is pardoned.'*

A further confirmation of the year B.C. 928 for reckoning backwards the regnal years of Egyptian dynasties as correctly transmitted by Manetho, is contained in his statement that the fall of Troy took place during the seven regnal years of Thuoris, the last Pharaoh of the XIXth Dynasty. He is said to have come to the throne in the 150th year before Sheshenk's accession, that is, B.C. 1208, and this is one of the two traditional years for the fall of Troy. A still more important confirmation of the Manethonian lists is presented by the hitherto unexplained period of 400 years, the era of Seti-Nubti, to which Ramses II refers in the Tanis inscription. It can now be asserted to have lasted from the sixtieth year of his reign backwards to the accession to the throne of his ancestor Seti I, of the XVIIth Dynasty, that is, from 1284 to 1684.†

Finally, we now get an at least possible calendrian year for the accession of Menes to the throne. Syncellus the Byzantian, born about A.D. 800, has transmitted a Manethonian period of 3555 years, which began with Menes.‡ When Herodotus was in Egypt, about B.C. 455, the priests read to him from a papyrus 'the names of 330 monarchs who (they said) were his (Mên's, the first king's) successors upon the throne . . . The last was named Mæris.§ Diodorus Siculus states, and he may have known it from historical tradition, that this Pharaoh Mæris of Herodotus was identical with Mendes or Smendes, thus with Her Hor, the first of the Royal High-priests.|| According to the Manethonian lists this Pharaoh came to the throne

^{*} Is. xl, I, 2; lxvii, 4.

⁺ Comp. 'Egyptian dynasties' in my Ueberlieferung, App. I, pp. 346, 341.

[‡] Syncellus does not recognise the correctness of this period, which he wrongly understood to have included the successive regnal years of the thirty dynasties to which Manetho referred. He asserts that the period of 3555 years cannot have been historical, because Menes and 'Mizraim' were identical. (Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum, Carolus Müllerius, Parisii, Didot, 1848, Vol. II, p. 517.)

[§] Herodotus, II, 100, 101. || Die

Diodorus Siculus, I, 61, 87.

117 years before Sheshenk, therefore, as we may now assert, in B.C. 1065. The period of 3555 years, beginning with Menes, may have referred to the successive regnal years of the 330 Pharaohs beginning with Menes, for on this assumption the average reign of these Pharaohs would have lasted slightly over eleven years. If so, the Manethonian period of 3555 years would have lasted from B.C. 1065–4620, a not improbable year for the accession of Menes. As a curiosity it may be observed that this possible year of the first king's accession to the throne, has been assigned to the creation of the first man by the Seventy, the contemporaries of Manetho.*

The synchronisms here indicated between Hebrew and Egyptian tradition do not in any way depend on this possible calendrian year for the accession of Menes. They could only then be doubted if the year B.C. 928 for Shishak's capture of Jerusalem could be attacked; or if a sound reason could be advanced for not regarding as strictly historical those Manethonian dates which have led, in conjunction with Hebrew chronology, to such remarkable coincidences. The synchronisms brought forward point to Ahmes and Amenophis I as the Pharaohs of Moses. But the objection has been raised, that after Ahmes the conquering expeditions of the Egyptians began, which always first touched Palestine, and made this land a vassal-state of the Pharaonic empire. Why does the Bible not mention anything about this?

In the first place, it has to be remarked that this argument could be made to refer as much to the passage of troops under the successor of Menephtha, the supposed Pharaoh of the Exodus, as under the successor of Amenophis I. For Ramses III, allied with the Sharutana (perhaps Sardinians) made war against the Rebo, the Tzakruri (Teukrians?) and the Purusata or Philistines, whom the Sharutana had joined by sea. He made an attack on Maka-Tyra (Tyre), and advanced into Naharayn or Mesopotamia, where however he could not maintain himself. It is now proved by comparative chronology that his accession to the throne took place after Joshua's division of the land, even if the Exodus had taken place in the last regnal year of Menephtha, that is, in E.C. 1258.

The Pharaohs of Dynasty XVIII to XX, when marching to the north, necessarily preferred the road along the sea coast to that on

^{*} According to the Septuagint, Adam was created 2260 years before the Flood, before B.C. 2360, that is 4620.

the east of the Dead Sea and the Jordan. Whilst passing through the country of the Philistines, Canaanites, and Phœnicians, they could ensure the supplies for the troops by the fleet, repel any attack from the seaside, and support the operations by land. These and other nations could easily be forced to become allies, and by attacking tribes of Hebrews, to keep them far from the coast, thus securing to the Egyptians their line of retreat. If the Exodus under Moses took place during the reign of Amenophis I, the first attacks of Hebrews by strangers, as transmitted in the Bible, began in the year of the division of the land by Joshua, 45 years after the Exodus, that is, B.C. 1518. The attack by Chusan-Risathaim (1518-1510) had been preceded by the passing of Egyptian troops through Syria to Mesopotamia under Tutmoses I and II (1557-1538; 1537-1515), and Amenophis III (1421-1384) crossed the country during the judgeship of Ehud (1452-1372). The temporary subjections of the Hebrews by Moabites, Philistines, and Midianites are now proved by Hebrew-Egyptian chronology to have taken place from 1470 and at different times until 1148, thus during the reigns of Tuthmoses III and successors until Ramses III (1260-1168) and successors. Gideon was contemporary of Meneplitha (1278-1258), and put an end to the dominion of Midianites, probably the allies of Ramses II (1344-1278), hitherto supposed to have been the Pharaoh of the oppression.

It is therefore highly probable that, whilst Egyptian troops were marching northwards along the sea coast of the Mediterranean, which was not inhabited by Hebrews, these did not see a single Egyptian before the time of Solomon, excepting the incident related in the reign of David.* For this reason nothing is reported by the Bible about the passages of Egyptian troops.

To the popular argument that the name of the city of Raemses, built by Hebrew labour, directly points to Ramses II as Pharaoh of the oppression, we oppose the following facts.

A Prince Ramses belonged to the family of Ahmes I, and already two centuries earlier, in the time of Joseph (1816-1706), "the land of Ramses" was known. It would seem that originally Ramsess, "the young Ra," or "Son of Ra," that is, Horus, the rising sun, was contrasted to Pitum, the setting sun. For Ra-em-khuti or Harmachis, whose sisters were Isis and Nephthys, means "the

sun on both horizons." Also the name Pharaoh, per-aa or per-ao, "the great house," or "the high Porte," may have referred to the same symbolism. We find Ramses II represented at Tel-el-mashkuta between Ra and Tum, perhaps with reference to "the right eye" and to "the left eye" of Ra, whose vicar the Pharaoh was held to be. According to an inscription discovered at Succoth (Pitum), the god of the setting sun addressed the following words to Ramses II: "thou risest like the god on the two horizons." The inscription in which Ramses II appropriates to himself the building of Pithom and thus also of Raemses, can only be referred to a rebuilding or enlargement of these cities.

The question whether Moses has lived about 250 years before the time hitherto assigned to him, can only be finally settled by the now provable synchronisms between Hebrew and Egyptian chronology. What objections might be raised against this scheme?

The year B.C. 2360 for the Flood, and thus for the starting point of Biblical chronology, is not supported by any chronological authority; yet only on this assumption the Exodus from Haran and the possible entry of Hebrews into Egypt took place exactly 400 years before the calendrian date assigned to the 'year five' of Ahmes, when the Hyksos, the bondmasters of the Hebrews, were expelled from Egypt. This Egyptian date, B.C. 1593, depends on the correctness of the Hebrew-Egyptian date for the capture of Jerusalem in B.C. 928, and on the assumption that the regnal years of the Pharaohs have been by Manetho transmitted with absolute accuracy. Again, the correctness of the year 928 for the fifth of Rehoboam and the twentieth of Shishak depends on setting aside the Biblical period of 480 years from the Exodus under Moses to the foundation of the Temple, a period which has been hitherto regarded as historical. Although it must be admitted that the 450 years from Joshua until Samuel, demanded by Scripture and cited by Paul, render impossible the period of 480 years, it does not follow from this that it has lasted 592 years, as Josephus asserts. On this supposition Samuel, the time of whose judgeship is not stated, must have been a judge for thirty two years, which is possible, but not certain. Only on the further assumption, based on vague statements in the Septuagint, that Rehoboam became king two years after the death of Solomon, the year 928 is arrived at.

All these objections fall to the ground in consequence of the new but unassailable fact, that the 390 years in Ezekiel's vision begin with Shishak's siege of Jerusalem in 928, and point to the year of Cyrus' edict in 538. The author of the fortieth chapter in the Book of Isaiah* announces to Jerusalem, at the end of the 390 years, when Cyrus the Anointed of God gave Israel leave to return, that the time of her bondage has an end, that her iniquity is pardoned. The now indisputable year B.C. 928 for the 5th of Rehoboam and the 2cth of Shishak confirms the correctness of the year 2360 for the Flood,† as also the period of 592 years, Samuel's judgeship of thirty-two years, the accession of Rehoboam to the throne two years after Solomon's death, the year B.C. 1065 for the accession of Pharaoh Her-Hor, and the possible year 4620 for the accession of Menes.

The years of the life of Moses and of Joshua's leadership can now be approximately fixed. The accession of Ahmes to the throne, of the new king in Egypt who knew nothing of Joseph, took place in B.C. 1598; this is therefore the earliest possible year when Moses can have been born. It follows that in the year of the Exodus, 1563, his age cannot have been more than 35 years, nor at his death more than 75. Moses has therefore lived beyond the 70 years mentioned in his Psalm, but, he has not reached the exceptionally high age of "fourscore years." Five years after his death Joshua divided the land, and in this year 1518 began the dominion of Chusan-Risathaim, which came to an end by Othniel's victory. If not in the year of the division of the land, Joshua certainly died before the liberation by Othniel in 1510.

In the following chronological table the dates not otherwise explained have been calculated after Biblical statements, starting from the year B.C. 2360 for the Flood.

- * He calls himself the Anointed of the Lord (Is. lxi, 1), a title given only to a high priest, for which reason I submit that the author of the last twenty-seven chapters in the Book of Isaiah is the high priest Joshua.
- † It is remarkable that Censorinus, about the year A.D. 238, in his work De die natali liber (21, 1-3), states, on the authority of Varro, that what the latter called 'the historical age' lasted 'about 1600 years,' that is, 'from the earlier flood, also called that of Ogygius, to the first Olympiad.' Accordingly the flood of Hebrew-Greek tradition occurred about the year B.C. 2376, within sixteen years of the Hebrew date here submitted.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

B.C.

- 4620. Possible first regnal year of Menes, the first of the 330 Pharaohs whose names were read out to Herodotus by the priests from a papyrus, and who reigned till 'Mœris,' identified by Diodorus of Sicily with 'Mendes' or Smendes, that is, with Her-Hor. According to the Manethonian lists this Pharaoh came to the throne 117 years before Sheshenk, B.C. 1065. The 330 Pharaohs can have reigned during the Manethonian period of 3555 years, which began with Menes and lasted from B.C. 4620–1065.
- 2360. The Flood.
- 1993. Emigration of Hebrews under Abraham from Haran to Egypt, and commencement of their bondage.
- 1593. Expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt in 'the year five' of Ahmes, according to the Elkab inscription. End of Hebrew servitude, which had lasted 400 years.
- 1563. Exodus of the Hebrews under Moses, 430 years after the emigration from Haran.
- 971. Foundation of the Temple by Solomon, 592 years after the Exodus (Josephus).
- 934. Solomon's death.
- 932. Rehoboam's accession to the throne, after a chaotic period of two years (Septuagint).
- 928. Capture of Jerusalem by Shishak in his twentieth regnal year, according to the Silsilis inscription, which year is also the fifth of Rehoboam.
- 538. Release of Hebrews by Cyrus, 390 years after the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak (comp. Ezek. iv, and Isaiah xl, 1–2; lxiii, 4).

Opinions greatly differ on the question when and by whom the Scriptures of the Old Testament were composed; but a comparison of the dates therein recorded with Egyptian, Babylonian, and Assyrian events, points to a unity of source, to a historical tradition.



SOME SUGGESTIONS RESPECTING THE EXODUS.

By A. L. Lewis, F.C.A.

The question, under which of the Pharaohs the Hebrew Exodus took place, is one that has engaged the attention of most Egyptologists at some time or other. It has been generally considered that Ramessu II was the oppressor, and that his son and successor Mer-en-ptah was the king of the Exodus, but that difficulties have always been felt in accepting this view, is evident from the fact that other theories are from time to time put forth. In 1860 Mr. Basil Cooper published a pamphlet in which he fixed upon Tahutmes II as the king, and 1515 B.C. as the date of the Exodus. In 1886 Mr. David Burnett published a pamphlet in which he fixed upon Apachnas (who was, he says, the last Hyksos king but one) as the king, and 1665 B.C. as the date of the Exodus. In 1889 Mr. Jacob Schwartz published some articles in the "Theological Monthly," in which he fixed upon Tahutmes III as the king, and 1438 B.C. as the year of the Exodus. Lastly, M. de Bunsen has just designated Amemhotep I as the king and 1563 as the date of the Exodus.

There have doubtless been other theories propounded which I have not become acquainted with, but to the five already mentioned I am about to add a sixth of my own. As a justification for this apparently unnecessary action, it is desirable in the first place to examine the theories already mentioned, and see why and where they fail to command universal acceptance.

What may be called the orthodox theory, namely that Mer-en-ptah was the king of the Exodus, has been ably set forth by Lepsius, who considered the date to have been 1314 B.C. Lepsius thought that the period commonly assigned to the Hebrew Judges was much too long; that Osarsiph and his lepers (spoken of by Manetho and Josephus) were Moses and the Hebrews; that the king Amenophis who fled from the lepers to Ethiopia, was not one of the Amen-hoteps but Mer-en-ptah (or as he called him Menepthes); and that his prede-

cessor Horus, who had been a "beholder of the gods," was Horemhebi, the last king of the XVIIIth dynasty. He analysed the genealogies of the Old Testament, and endeavoured to prove that only ten or eleven generations, equal to about three hundred years, elapsed between the Exodus and the building of the temple, instead of four hundred and eighty years, as stated in 1 Kings; and, following the same method, allowed only three generations, or ninety years, between the entrance of Jacob into Egypt and the Exodus, and only one hundred and eighty, or at most two hundred and fifteen years, from Abram to Moses. All this seems very consistent and convincing at first sight, but on second thoughts some difficulties present themselves. If the descendants of Jacob were only ninety years or so in Egypt, they must either have formed but a very insignificant part of the multitude who went out and afterwards formed the kingdoms of Judah and Israel, or, if those who went out were, as has always been believed, chiefly the descendants of Jacob, the Exodus must have been such a trifling affair that the absence of any mention of it in Egyptian inscriptions can no longer surprise us. Lepsius would probably select the former alternative, but it seems to me most reasonable to suppose that we have only fragmentary genealogies, and that some of the generations have been omitted. The identification of Horus, the "beholder of the gods," with Horemhebi is not conclusive; the seventh king of the Vth dynasty (Mencheres of Manetho) is called Hormenka in the Turin papyrus and the Abydos and Saggarah lists, and the names of some other unplaced kings begin with Hor, and as the "beholding of the gods" must have been a mythical event, it is most likely to have been attributed to some Hor or Horus much more remote from Mer-en-ptah than was Horemhebi.

The strongest argument in favour of Mer-en-ptah and not Tahutmes being the Pharaoh of the Exodus, is that no mention of the Hebrews occurs in the account of the wars of Ramessu II in Syria, and that no mention of the Egyptian invasion of that country occurs in the Jewish annals, from which it is inferred that the Hebrews were not then settled in Judea, and could not therefore have left Egypt so early as the reign of Tahutmes II or III.

This objection applies to the second theory which I have to notice; that, namely, of Mr. Basil Cooper, who fixed upon Tahutmes II as the Pharaoh of the Exodus, and upon 1515 B.C. as its date. The only reason I can find given for his doing so is that he

fixed upon 1515 B.C. by certain astronomical calculations as the year of the death of Tahutmes II, and that the year 1513 B.C. has been adopted by Eusebius and others as the date of the Exodus.

I come next to Mr. Burnett's theory, that the Exodus took place in 1668 B.C., under the last but one of the Hyksos kings. If so, the Hebrews must have been in Palestine when Tahutmes III conquered it, yet he did not record their presence there, nor they his. Perhaps it is enough to say that a cardinal point of this theory is that Moses was put into the Nile in the Hyksos domains, and saved by the daughter of the Theban king, so that, if Mr. Burnett's view be correct, he must have floated a great number of miles up the river, against the stream, and must have been accompanied along the banks by his mother and sister.

The fourth theory I have to examine is that propounded in the "Theological Monthly" by Mr. Jacob Schwartz, who says that Tahutmes III was the king, and that 1438 B.C. was the year of the Exodus. He bases his theory largely upon the supposed date of the destruction of Troy, and upon a special interpretation of Manetho's accounts—a most unsatisfactory foundation—and has been led by the latter to believe that the last kings of the XVIIIth dynasty were Amenhotep III and Horus (meaning Amenhotep IV or Khuenaten, whom he confounds with the Osarsiph of the leper story, and apparently with Horemhebi), whereas Khuenaten was succeeded by his sons-in-law in the following order:-1, Ra-sa-a-ka-kheper; 2, Tut-ankh-amen; 3, Ai, and they again by Horemhebi, the four reigns lasting more than fifty years. Mr. Schwartz, moreover, makes Tahutmes to be the king both of the oppression and of the Exodus, whereas both the Old Testament and Josephus plainly state that these were two different kings; nevertheless Mr. Schwartz considers that the Exodus took place in the middle of the reign of Tahutmes III, namely in his 27th year; but that king was fighting in Syria and Mesopotamia during his 22nd, 23rd, 29th, 30th, and 31st years, or, as a fragmentary inscription (translated in "Records of the Past," vol. ii, p. 52) states, "commencing in his 21st and continuing to his 32nd year;" so that if the Exodus took place during that period, it had little if any effect on the power of the Egyptians. This theory is also open to the objection, already mentioned, that the Hebrews were not in Palestine in the earlier years of Ramessu II, which they must have been if they left Egypt in the time of Tahutmes III.

The latest proposition is that put before us to-night by M. de Bunsen, which, like that of Mr. Schwartz, is mainly based on chronology, but which suggests Amenhotep I as the king of the Exodus instead of Tahutmes III, and 1563 B.C. as the date instead of 1438. The author admits that the truth of his theory depends on the correctness of the following assumptions:-Firstly, that 2360 B.C. was the year of the deluge. As M. de Bunsen places the deluge in the middle of his Egyptian chronology, I suppose he considers it to have been a limited and comparatively small one, but if it were so, the Hebrew accounts of it are so far erroneous as to the facts, that we cannot place any reliance on the number of years or generations which they state to have elapsed between it and Abraham, since facts are much more likely to be handed down correctly than figures. Secondly, that 928 B.C. was the year of the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak, in the seventh year of his sole reign, or the 20th from his association with Pisemkeb; the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak was, however, placed in his 14th year by Mr. Bosanquet, who said the date was 949 B.C., and by Mr Schwartz, who says it was 924 B.C.; either of these dates may be right, or all may be wrong, for anything I can now say to the contrary, but M. de Bunsen's assumption will evidently not be allowed to pass unchallenged, especially since he admits that it is based on vague statements in the Septuagint that Rehoboam became king two years after the death of Solomon. Thirdly, that the regnal years of the Pharaohs have been transmitted with absolute accuracy by Manetho; in this matter the lists of Josephus, Africanus, Eusebius, and Syncellus not only differ from each other, but their totals, when given separately, do not agree with the additions of their own lists, and M. de Bunsen himself appears to differ from all of them. These three assumptions, which M. de Bunsen admits to be essential to his theory, certainly make a large draft on our powers of belief; but he says that all objections to them fall to the ground because, if his date of 928 B.C. be the right one for the capture of Jerusalem by Shishak, a period of 390 years, concerning which Ezekiel had a revelation, would evidently run from 928 to 538 B.C., the date of Cyrus' edict. I cannot think that Ezekiel's vision referred to Shishak's siege at all, but, if it did, there is still another period of forty years mentioned by the prophet in the same chapter, of which M. de Bunsen takes no notice, but which he ought to account for in some way. When we turn from these chronological assumptions to

see what historical facts or probabilities there are in support of M. de Bunsen's views we find none, except the possibilities (which I deal with in my own suggestions presently) that Osarsiph and his lepers were Moses and his followers, and that the Amenophis of that story was Amenhotep I. M. de Bunsen, however, makes this king to reign only thirteen years, in opposition to his own authorities, the various versions of Manetho, which give either this king or a personage called Chebron thirteen years jointly with the Queen Ahmes Nefertari, and to Amenhotep twenty to twenty-four years by himself afterwards. How M. de Bunsen arranges this difference in his chronology I do not know. On the question of fact we are, moreover, entitled to ask how much of the Hebrew accounts of the life of Moses M. de Bunsen accepts, and how he fits them in with the facts which we know from the contemporary monuments of the history of the period he has selected, and why, if the Hebrews left Egypt in the reign of Amenhotep I, neither Tahutmes III nor Ramessu II found them in Palestine? M. de Bunsen does indeed attempt to explain the latter difficulty, but I cannot think that the Egyptian armies confined themselves so closely to the coast, that they would not have come in contact with the Hebrews had they been in possession of the Promised Land.

I must now explain the lines upon which I have worked myself. The general supposition has been that the Exodus was so supremely important an event in the history of Egypt, that some account of it must be found in its annals, and, failing any better guides, investigators have followed Manetho and the Shepherds into the wilderness on the one hand, or Osarsiph and the lepers into the quarries on the other hand, and have, as I think, lost their way altogether. In my opinion, however, the Exodus was to the Egyptian but one amongst an unending series of struggles with the Asiatic barbarians, and one which, as it ended unsatisfactorily, was as well forgotten as recorded. To the Hebrew, on the contrary, the Exodus was the beginning of his national life, an event to be remembered, commemorated, and perhaps embellished. The Hebrew accounts are, therefore, in my opinion, likely to be approximately correct, and, taking them to be so, I have sought to find a period of Egyptian history into which they would fit without difficulty. From Egyptian sources, indeed, we have practically no evidence, for the monuments give us no information on the subject, and though the poor fragments which we possess of Manetho's history contain truth, they are so far from

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containing the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, that no reliance can be placed upon them.

And what is the Hebrew account of the matter? Josephus, whose account is on the whole fuller than that of the Old Testament, says that the Egyptians, being envious of the prosperity of the Hebrews, set them to cut a great number of channels for the river, and to build walls for their cities, and ramparts to restrain the river, and pyramids. If, as I believe to be the case, all the pyramids were built before the Hyksos invasion, the last statement of Josephus is erroneous; and as Josephus, on the other hand, does not say that the Hebrews built Pithom and Rameses, I am also inclined to regard that statement as an error, which, being in the first instance put as a suggestion, afterwards became incorporated in the text of the Pentateuch. Josephus next tells us that a sacred scribe prophesied to the king that about this time a child would be born to the Hebrews, who, if he were reared, would bring the Egyptian dominion low and would raise the Israelites, and that this was the reason that the king desired the slaughter of the Hebrew boys. If, as is generally supposed, this king lived through the life of Moses both in Egypt and in Midian, we should be obliged to conclude that he was either Tahutmes III or Ramessu II, since no other king of that period reigned more than fifty years; but there is no evidence that there were not several kings between the birth of Moses and the Exodus.* Feeling that there was not time between Mer-en-ptah and Sheshonk for the events stated in Hebrew history to have occurred between the Exodus and the invasion of Judea by the latter, 1 sought for a more suitable period in Egyptian history for the Exodus than that of Mer-en-ptah, and my attention was attracted by the remarkable religious revolution in the reign of Amenhotep IV, or Khuenaten, and I now suggest that he was the oppressor of the Hebrews; that he, as a religious fanatic, was much more likely to be influenced by the prophecy mentioned by Josephus than were such gallant soldiers as Tahutmes and Ramessu; and that he, having weakened his kingdom by religious intolerance of the most bitter description, would have had much more cause to fear the growing strength of the Hebrews than would Tahutmes or Ramessu, who had raised a

^{*} As no king of the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasty reigned more than sixty-seven years, there must either have been more than one king between the birth of Moses and the Exodus, or the eighty years from his birth to the Exodus, namely, forty in Egypt and forty in Midian, must be shortened.

united Egypt to the summit of its power. I suggest also that the new capital built by Khuenaten, the ruins of which are known as Tel el-Amarna, was constructed partly to find occupation for the Hebrews; and, seeing that those infallible proofs—bricks without straw—are found, stamped with their respective names, not only at Pithom by the defamers of Ramessu, but at Heliopolis by the traducers of Tahutmes, I am not without hope that some may also be found at Tel el-Amarna, although the said bricks belong not to the oppressor king but to the king of the Exodus.

Josephus next describes the birth of Moses, his rescue from the Nile, and adoption by the king's daughter, her bringing him up as heir to the throne with her father's tacit consent, and the unwilling toleration of all this by the Egyptians, because "there was no one, either akin or adopted, that had any oracle of his side for pretending to the crown of Egypt." This statement of itself excludes both Tahutmes and Ramessu from being the oppressor king, because both of them had sons who succeeded them; but it is peculiarly applicable to Khuenaten, who was succeeded by his daughters and their husbands, who appear to have left no male issue. Josephus mentioned the names of the oppressor king and the king of the Exodus, we should have been spared much speculation, but, though these names are omitted, that of the daughter of Pharaoh, who adopted Moses, is said by Josephus to have been Thermuthis; Khuenaten had a daughter named Tii or Tia, and, if we add to this name the syllable Mut, or royal mother, so often met with in royal names, which Dr. Birch considered to be applied to Egyptian queens, whether mothers or not,* and which the adoption of Moses would in any case have procured for Tia, we get a name—Tia-mut which resembles the Thermuthis of Josephus as nearly as any Egyptian name we are likely to find.

Josephus, having given various particulars as to the childhood of Moses, says that the Ethiopians invaded Egypt and overran the whole country, and that the oracles having been consulted, declared that Moses should be called upon to lead the Egyptian forces, and that the father of Thermuthis commanded her to produce him for that purpose. I think, however, Josephus should rather have said her husband than her father, for Khuenaten must by this time have been succeeded on his throne, and probably in the royal tombs also, by his

^{* &}quot;Records of the Past," Vol. X, p. 29.

sons-in-law Ra-sa-a-ka-kheper, husband of his daughter Aten-Mer-t, and Tut-ankh-amen, husband of his daughter Ankh-nes-Amen, who were in turn succeeded by Ai, the husband of his daughter Tii, whom I believe to have been the Thermuthis of Josephus.

Of Ai we are told (in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, Vol. VIII, p. 300) that he was fan-bearer, royal scribe, and master of horse to Khuenaten, and also a priest in the temple of Amen, that he became king, and gained many victories, both in the north and in the south; so that Moses might very well have distinguished himself in some of the southern campaigns of this king, though not perhaps to the extent claimed by Josephus, who says that, as commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, Moses drove the Ethiopians back, and took their capital city by the help of their king's daughter, whom he afterwards married. The tomb of Ai still remains in the mountains west of Thebes, and Lepsius found there his granite sarcophagus broken up, and his name everywhere studiously erased; a fragment of the sarcophagus is in the British Museum.

Josephus next tells us that "the Egyptians, after they had been preserved by Moses, entertained hatred to him, and were very eager in effecting their designs against him, as suspecting that he would take occasion from his good success to raise a sedition, and bring innovations into Egypt, and told the king he ought to be slain," that the king came to the same conclusion, but that Moses, becoming aware of their plans, fled to Midian. My interpretation of this is that, as there was no heir apparent or presumptive to Ai, the nation was divided into parties, that Moses was perhaps the hope and candidate for the throne, not only of the Hebrews but of the disc worshippers, who had already brought in so many innovations; but that the priests of Amen and their followers adopted Horemhebi as their candidate, and did all they could to get rid of Moses; and that he, having failed to bring the Hebrews to his support by the slaughter of the Egyptian (mentioned in the Old Testament, but not by Josephus) sought safety in flight.

Horemhebi (of whom there are two statues in the British Museum) is called the last king of the XVIIIth dynasty, though it does not appear that he was descended from any of its kings; his queen Mutnetem, or Netem-mut, was however probably of royal descent. The Museum at Turin contains a black granite group of two seated statues of this king and his queen, and the inscription upon it

(translated in "Records of the Past," vol. x, p. 31) intimates that he was elected or selected as heir apparent, but not without opposition; which agrees with what I have suggested as to a contest between him and Moses for the succession. It is known that Horemhebi restored the worship of Amen and his destroyed sanctuaries, and repressed the disc heresy; there is monumental evidence of his 21st year.

We next hear of the marriage of Moses in Midian, where it is stated that he remained forty years, but it is generally agreed that the biblical periods of forty years are not necessarily to be taken literally, and the episode of the circumcision of his son while on the way back to Egypt seems to indicate a much shorter residence there—say twenty years. Whether the return of Moses to Egypt took place in the latter years of Horemhebi, or on the accession of his successor, Ramessu I, the founder of the XIXth dynasty, I am not quite prepared to say; yet upon this depends which of the two I shall suggest to have been the king of the Exodus; but the statement that that king had but just received the government, seems to point to Ramessu I, who reigned less than two years.

I have now to consider the chronological side of the matter. In the book of Kings it is stated that the foundation of the temple took place 480 years after the Exodus, but Josephus says 592 years, and the events recorded as occurring in the interval might be stretched out to fill up 700 years without difficulty; but of these events or periods four have no duration stated, eleven are round or doubtful numbers of forty, or eighty, or twenty years, and only eleven have what may be called a definite duration given. Lepsius, having fixed a date for the Exodus 318 years before the accession of Solomon, took the definite, or, as he called them, the historical periods, as he found them, and found that the remaining years allowed an average of twelve for the indeterminate periods, which seems to me to be too short an allowance. The period which I suggest for the Exodus would give another century or more, thus allowing an average of nearly twenty years for the indeterminate periods. But this again depends upon what view is taken of the chronology as a whole; it is generally considered that Ramessu II was succeeded by his son Mer-en-ptah in 1322 B.C., the date accepted by Lepsius, but we are now told by Mr. Schwartz and others that 1322 B.C. was not the date of the accession of Mer-en-ptah but of his grandfather Seti, in which case the 318 years allowed by Lepsius for the events between the Exodus and the building of the temple would shrink up to little more than two hundred, so that the idea that Mer-en-ptah was the king of the Exodus would unquestionably have to be abandoned. The time which I suggest for the Exodus, the end namely of the reign of Horemhebi or of Ramessu I, would then be brought down to the date fixed by Lepsius for the Exodus, and would therefore be nearer the foundation of the temple than I like it to be. If, however, 1322 B.C. were the date of the death of Ramessu II, and we allow a century for his reign and that of Seti I, my Exodus date would be about 1422 B.C. It will be observed that, as Ramessu II is known to have reigned 67 years, I am only allowing 33 years for his father Seti, instead of 50 which are usually assigned to him. This is because we have no evidence for the 50 years except that of Manetho, Seti's highest monumentally recorded year being his ninth, and because I think it highly improbable that a king having so extremely lengthy a reign as 67 years should be preceded by a father who had so unusually long a reign as 50 years, especially as Ramessu II was not an infant when he succeeded his father, but fought the battle of Kadesh in his 5th year. I naturally wish to shorten Seti's reign as much as is compatible with facts, in order that it and the earlier years of Ramessu II may fall within the period during which the Hebrews were, upon my hypothesis, in the wilderness and east of the Jordan, so that I may escape the objection I have urged against other theories, that, if the Hebrews had been in Palestine when Ramessu II was there he, or they, or both, would have recorded it.*

The principal points in favour of the hypothesis I have now put before you may be briefly summed up as follows:—

- 1. It accords with the known facts and with the probabilities both of Egyptian and Hebrew history better than any other theory.
 - 2. It is supported by the identification of Pharaoh's daughter.
- 3. It does not violate any ascertained fact or reasonable probability.

I have now to submit to you a second set of suggestions which may be accepted or rejected without in any way affecting the acceptance or rejection of those already made.

^{*} If we allow fifty years for Seti, then 1322 + 67 for Ramessu + 50 for Seti = 1439 B.C., or within a year of the date fixed by Mr. Schwarz, though on a different system of chronology.

Firstly, as to Osarsiph and the lepers. The account, as taken by Josephus from Manetho, is that after the departure of the Shepherds, a certain king Amenophis, son of Rampses, desiring to become a beholder of the gods, like Horus, one of his predecessors, consulted Amenophis the son of Paapis, a very holy man, who told him that if he cleansed the country of the lepers and other unclean people, he would be able to behold the gods. The king collected all the lepers in Egypt, numbering eighty thousand, and set them to work in the quarries east of the Nile apart from the other Egyptians; but amongst them were some priests, in consequence of which Amenophis the prophet killed himself, leaving behind a prophecy that the lepers and unclean would revolt and govern Egypt for thirteen years. Amenophis the king then allowed them to leave the quarries and settle in Abaris, the former town of the Shepherds, where they appointed Osarsiph a priest of On as their leader, and swore to obey him in all things. Osarsiph forbade the Egyptian form of worship, allowed the sacred animals to be destroyed, and prepared to fight against the king, sending for help to Jerusalem, to the Shepherds who had been driven out by Tothmosis (meaning Aahmes not Thothmes). Amenophis the king then retired with his army of 300,000 men and his son Sethos or Rampses into Ethiopia. where they were received by the king of that country for the thirteen years of the prophecy, that king also placing an army of his own on the borders of Egypt to protect Amenophis and his army. Meanwhile the unclean people tyrannised abominably over the Egyptians whom Amenophis left behind, until, at the end of the thirteen years, he returned with his son Sethos or Rampses and his army and drove them out.

Josephus did not believe this account, but Lepsius thought it related to the Exodus, and that the king Amenophis was Mer-en-ptah, but it does not appear that that king retired into Ethiopia for thirteen years or any other period. Mr. Schwartz thinks the king Amenophis was Amenhotep III, and says that there was in his reign a great personage named Amenhotep-si-Hapi (son of Hapi or Apis), but the father of Amenhotep III was not named Rampses, nor was he, so far as I can discover, the grandfather of Ramessu I or of Seti I, though he might have been a more remote ancestor; nor is there any reason to believe that he sought refuge in Ethiopia for thirteen years or any other period. It does not in fact seem possible to look upon this tale as it stands as being an accurate account of anything that really happened; it seems rather to contain names

and fragmentary accounts of occurrences of different periods brought together, perhaps long afterwards, for the purpose of connecting them with the Exodus, and annoying the Jews of a later age by representing their ancestors as lepers.

The period of thirteen years seems to me to connect this tale with a personage named Chebros or Chebron, who appears in Manetho's lists as reigning for thirteen years between Aahmes and Amenhotep I, while these same years also seem to be assigned by monumental evidence to Amenhotep I, conjointly with his mother Aahmes Nefertari, and I therefore suggest, firstly, that the rebellious priest Osarsiph and the interloping ruler Chebros were one and the same; and, secondly, that this Osarsiph Chebros, or Chebron Osarsiph, was no other than our old friend the viceroy Joseph, who had been appointed to that position by Aahmes.

In suggesting this, it is not necessary to infer that the virtue which was proof against the temptations of a first master's wife, failed when exposed to the temptations of a second master's kingdom. Joseph (if he it were) may not have exceeded the limits of his original commission; he and the Queen Mother may have been appointed by Aahmes as guardians of or co-regents with Amenhotep I, and Amenhotep, disapproving of this, may have gone south of his own accord; there may then have been a contest between Amenhotep, supported by the southern Egyptians and Ethiopians on the one hand, and Joseph, supported by the Queen Mother and her party, and by his own kindred, and the Hyksos population which remained in or returned to the Delta, on the other hand.* In this case it is probable that the Semitic wing of this alliance would sooner or later outrage the susceptibilities of their Egyptian friends, and drive them into joining hands with Amenhotep and his party, with the result that the king was recalled, and the Semites repressed. Some such transactions as these may well have formed the basis of the leper story, into which other names and circumstances were probably imported at a later date.

If these conjectures be correct, Joseph and Jacob must have entered Egypt in the reign of Aahmes, and soon after the downfall of the Hyksos, when the detestation of the Shepherds by the

^{*} The Rev. H. G. Tomkins considers that traces of the Hyksos population may still be found in the Delta ("Journal, Anthropological Institute," Vol. XIX, p. 195).

Egyptians, which is dwelt upon in the Old Testament, was very strong. Assuming this to be so, and that the Exodus took place at the end of the reign of Horemhebi, or of Ramessu I, the Hebrews would perhaps have been rather longer in Egypt than the 215 years assigned to their stay by Josephus; but Lepsius has shown that this 215 years is a round number, being just half the 430 years said to have elapsed between the visit of Abraham and the Exodus, which he also considered to be a round or artificial number. The difference, however, would not be very great, and would allow more time for the increase of the Hebrew population.

As I have already pointed out, these latter suggestions regarding Joseph may be accepted or rejected without involving the acceptance or the rejection of my suggestions respecting the Exodus; but, taking them as a whole, I venture to submit them as a reasonable and consistent working hypothesis.



REMARKS ON THE TABLET OF THE THIRTY STARS. Part II.

By Robert Brown, Jun., F.S.A.

I.

Line 2, Star No. II.

Kakkab Lik - bar - ra | 'Ilu A - nu The-Star of-the-Hyaena. | The-god Anu

The Akkadian Likbarra ("Striped-dog"), the Assyrian $a\chi u$ (ahu) and Hebrew $\partial a\chi$, is the Hyaena, the $\partial \chi \hat{i}m$ being the "doleful creatures" of the A.V. in Isaiah, xiii, 21.* In W.A.I. II, 49, No. 3, line 38, the star Lik-bar-ra is explained as $\forall \chi \rightarrow \chi \chi$ (a-khu-u; the syllable ra is the phonetic prolongation, used in the emphatic. In W.A.I. II, 49, No. 4, line 41, the Star Lik-bar-ra occurs in a list of portents with the Stars of the Stag, Dog, Fish, etc. There is no "Star of the Fish" amongst the Thirty, for $Fomalhaut \uparrow$ seems to have been too far to the south to be included; and Pisces is a dark constellation, and one which certain "sage astrologers dubbed a most malignant sign." $\downarrow Okda$ ("the Knot," called Nodus, in Cicero's Aratos), a Piscium, which Ptolemy describes as $\delta \in \pi i \tau \circ \delta \sigma v v \delta \in \sigma \mu v v \delta v v \delta$

^{*} The LXX renders the passage, καὶ εμπληθήσονται αἰ οἰκίαι ἥχον. Delitzsch and others translate $o\chi \hat{\imath}m$ 'jackals,' but I prefer the view of the Rev. Wm. Houghton (*Transactions*, V, p. 328).

⁺ Vide Proceedings, Jan., p. 147.

[‡] Smyth. IIe refers to John Gadbury. The Schol. on Aratos, Phainomena, 240, says of the Northern Fish, $Xa\lambda\delta\tilde{a}ioi$ καλοῦσιν $^1X\theta$ ν χελιδονίαν. Pisces is a dark constellation as connected in symbolism with the nocturnal sun (vide Proceedings, Jan., p. 145); but was not a malignant sign in Babylonia, for "If the Star of the Fish (return) justice is in the land" (W.A.I. II, 49, No. 4, line 46), the month Addaru, the month of Pisces, being under the protection of "the Seven Great Gods"; and when Mars was opposite to "the Star of the Fish, the presence of many fish in the land (is) reported" (W.A.I. III, 57, No. 2, line 3). Although Fomalhaut is probably the star here specially referred to, yet the time was the same, for, as Aratos observes,—

[&]quot;With the Fishes comes

 $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \beta \lambda \iota \nu \hat{\omega} \nu$, "the one at the knot of the two cords," a third magnitude star, is styled, by Aratos:—

"both beautiful and large,
And this men call the tail-connecting link;"*

but I think Okda, which is very near the Ram's forepaws, is included in Asterism No. III, and that we may identify the Constellation of the Hyaena with a γ , and ζ Pegasi. My friend Mr. John T. Plummer, of the Orwell Park Observatory, who has kindly assisted me in this investigation, is of opinion that at least three stars of Pegasus would be included in the Thirty Stars (or Asterisms). Pegasus is a paranatellon of Aquarius and Pisces, and its stars form the 26th and 27th lunar mansions of the Arabians; for a Andromedae, in the 27th lunar mansion, is $Sirrah\dagger$ (= Surra al Feras, "the-Navel-of-the-horse"). In the Tablet, Star No. XVII is called the Horse; but this, as we shall see, is not Pegasus. \ddagger

Line 3, Star No. III.

Kakkab Gam | Kakku sa kati D.P. Maruduk
The-Star of-the-Scimitar | The-weapon of the-hand of Meródax.

Star No. III supplies an excellent instance alike of the difficulties and of the interest of the investigation; I give several opinions, and the reader must decide for himself.

The name has been read *Papnu*, and interpreted as "the Hero-of-setting," *i.e.*, "*Saturn*, according to Oppert." This view may, I think, be safely rejected; there is no planet amongst the Thirty Stars. *Saturn* appears in its proper place with the other planets in Part II of the Tablet. The Star occurs with others in W.A.I. II, 49, No. 1, but not so as to enable us to identify it from that passage. The form, in Assyrian (Akkadian gam, zubu, appears in Professor Sayce's Syllabary, No. 15, with the Assyrian equivalents

^{*} Phainomena, 244-5. Its magnitude may possibly have varied.

[†] A ξυνὸς ἀστήρ, common to both constellations (Aratos, Phainomena, 206).

[‡] The winged Demi-horse, described by Aratos (*Phainomena*, 205–15), is exactly shown on coins of Lampsakos and Skepsis (vide Lajard, *Culte de Vénus*, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 18), where the wings show Phoiniko-Euphratean treatment. The Pêgasos-myth is connected with Asia Minor, and the Winged-horse also appears on a Hittite gem (vide *Proceedings*, Feb., 1884; Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. XLIV, Fig. 3a).

[§] Transactions, III, p. 173.

gamlu, 'benefit,' and sucru, 'kindness.' The Rev. William Houghton, in his admirable Paper, The Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records, after noticing that Gam-gam is an Akkadian name of the Ostrich, and that gam "is in the syllabaries compared with gi-mil-lu ('to recompense') and sikru, a 'reward,'" observes, "It is not easy to see the exact meaning of this expression as applied to the Ostrich." The expression, as we shall see, does not apply to it at all; but an Assyrian name for the Ostrich is śa-ka-tuv, which "may be compared with the Arabic saka', 'abiit, declivavit, deflexit a viâ recta,' and may allude to the well-known habit of these birds always running in circles when hunted."*

Mr. Pinches, who at times has kindly assisted me in these investigations, wrote, "Perhaps it would be better to read gam, which is translated in Assyrian by šikru, and refer it to 'the weapon,' as 'the drinker' (of blood.")† This is ingenious, but, I think, on the wrong track. The weapon gam, whatever it may be, is not regarded as a 'blood-drinker,' but is so valuable that it has come to be equivalent to 'benefit' in a general sense.

Mr. Bertin reads 🛶 🖾 in this passage as the Assyrian gamlu, or šikru, and whichever of these is the correct reading, he regards as meaning 'ostrich.' According to him, therefore, the right translation is "the Star of the Ostrich." To this it may be objected that: (1) Not gam, but gam-gam (i.e., intensive—the Gam)‡ is the name of the Ostrich, (2) The Ostrich does not appear on the monuments as a star or constellation. (3) It is impossible to understand how the Ostrich could be Merôdax's weapon; on the contrary, we find the god engaged in contest with this bird. Thus, a god, presumably Merôdax, because armed with the saparu, or sickle-shaped sword, which "is always represented, both in the sculptures and inscriptions, as a weapon of Bel Merodach," § in the war against the dragon Tiamat, grasps a large Ostrich, which is evidently crying out, by the neck, and apparently is about to slay it. | The same divinity, four-winged in each instance, is represented as standing between two great Ostriches, each of which he

^{*} Transactions, VIII, p. 101.

⁺ He appears to connect šikru, with the Heb. shothoh, 'drink.'

[‡] Cf. the Heb. peace + peace = "perfect peace."

[§] Smith and Sayce, Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 109.

^{||} Lajard, Culte de Mithra, Pl. LI, Fig. 8.

gripes by the neck;* and Mr. Franklin T. Richards well remarks, "Very far-reaching were the connexions between animal life and the mythology of the Greeks and Orientals, and strange are the forms in which their mythology found expression in art—art sometimes carrying on a religious tradition, of which the meaning must have been quite lost for the sculptor. One of the best illustrations of this is the series of monuments put together by Dr. Keller to illustrate the various steps which connect the Boy and Goose of Boethos with Assyrian or Persian figures of deity strangling geese or other creatures as a symbol of the godhead controlling nature. The imagery was traditional; its meaning was forgotten."†

We observe, then, that the Assyrian name for the Ostrich meant "the circle," an appellation suggested by the habits of the bird. Had the Akkadian ostrich-name gam-gam a similar meaning, and did gam mean, "to circle," "be bent," 'bent,' etc.? It did. Lenormant, in his Syllabary, gives, No. 18, " 18, gam, aller en cercle, revenir périodiquement; zubu, revenir periodiquement." ‡ And the Rev. C. J. Ball compares the Akkadian "GAM, GIN, 'to bend, 'bow,'" with the Chinese "yin, 'to bend a bow' (cp. Cantonese k'am, 'to lean over.')" But the comparison may be greatly extended, and here we see an instance of the advantages arising from the identification of Akkadian as a member of the great Turanian family of languages; for, when we turn to the Turko-Tataric dialects, we find at once the root kom, komb, kun, 'round,' etc., whence the Uigur kom-ar, 'amulet,' i.e., that which is round; | the Tchagatai kom, "camel's hump," kom-bul, 'knob,' etc. *m*-final at times changes to n (e.g. kom-kun), and n into r, \P the Akkadian gam and Turko-Tataric kom, komb, reappear in the Lapponic jo-r-ba, 'rotundus,' and the Magyar gor-be, 'curvus'; ** and so we find the Magyar gömb, "a sphere," gömb-ölyu, 'round,' the Zyrianian

- * Lajard, Culte de Mithra, Pl. LI, Fig. 9.
- † Academy, Oct. 13, 1888, p. 243.
- ‡ Vide Lenormant, Étude sur quelques parties des Syllabaires Cunéiformes, p. 294: "GAM, être courbe."
 - § The New Accadian, in Proceedings, Nov., 1889, p. 11.
- || Vámbéry compares in illustration, the Tchagatai tom-ar, 'amulet,' with tum, 'round.'
 - ¶ Vide Schott, Das Zahlwort, 20; R. B., Jr., The Etruscan Numerals, p. 28.
 - ** Vide Budenz, Magyar-Ugor Öss. Szótár, p. 61.

gör-byltny, 'bent,' etc., etc. Gam, therefore, "the weapon of Meroda χ ," is that which is 'round,' 'bent,' or 'curved,' namely, the saparu, "sickle-shaped sword," or scimitar already referred to, and one of his principal weapons against the Dragon.* In line 26, Star No. XXII, is similarly described as mul-mul-la kakku sa kati D.P. Maruduk. Talbot rendered mulmullla, 'falchion.'† The ideograph is star + star + the phonetic prolongation (la); as mul means 'star' and 'brightness,' mulmullla = "the very bright one." The solar disk with its arrowy rays,‡ lightnings, and stars are all weapons of Merôda χ against darkness and chaos.

In line 49 we have the important information that the Ram is

The-uppermost-part of-the-Star of-the-Scimitar;

from which I conclude that the constellation of the *Scimitar* extended from $Okda\S$ to Hamal ("the Ram," a Arietis), the Star \P , also called Kakkab A-nuv kakkab Lu-lim, $\|$ "the Star of Anu (i.e.,) the Ram." The curved blade of the Scimitar would consist of a, β , and γ Arietis, and would appear in heaven just over the head of Cetus, the Tiamat-monster, and next to Perseus, the analogue of Merôda χ , if not actually Merôda χ himself. We observe further that two lists of asterisms, solar and lunar, are evidently familiar to the scribe, who, in his notes on the archaic Akkadian lunar list, is

- * I shall not here discuss what the saparu represented. As to the weapons of Merôda χ , vide the Hymn W.A.I. II, 19, No. 2. Translated by Prof. Sayce in Rel. Anct. Babylonians, p. 480, et seq.
- † The Fight between Bel and the Dragon, in Transactions, V, p. 15. It is also translated "the shaft (of the sword)" (Smith and Sayce, Chaldean Account of Genesis, p. 111).
- ‡ Cf. Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 17: "Sagittarum autem nomine non nisi radiorum iactus ostenditur."
 - § Vide sup., p. 180.
 - \parallel W.A.I. III, 53, No. 1, Rev., line 30.
- ¶ As to the Oriental origin and character of the Family-group of Constellations (Cepheus, Cassiopeia, Andromeda, and Perseus), vide R. B., Jr., The Unicorn, sec. vii; Eridanus, p. 69; The Heavenly Display, p. 90; Tümpel, Die Aithiopenländer des Andromedamythos; Gruppe, Der phoinikische Urtext der Kassiepeialegende. Perseus is also specially represented both in literature and art, as using this same particular weapon, the khereb, harpê, "portentous sickle," or scimitar.

thus careful to point out that the *Scimitar* (in part) = the well-known and famous solar *Ram*, which, cir. B.C. 2540, became the "dux et princeps Signorum."

Line 4, Star No. IV.

Kakkab Bar-tab-ba-gal-gal-la

The-star of-the-Great-Twins.

There are many great and little twin-stars in the heavens, and, as previously noticed,* the well-known "Great Twins" of the solar Zodiac are Castor and Pollux; but here we traverse the same region (the ecliptic) from a different starting-point; and as we know exactly where we have now reached, i.e., immediately to the east of Aries, we have no difficulty in recognizing "the Great Twins" as the two famous asterisms of the Pleiades and the Hyades, the 3rd Arabian moonstation, including Aldebaran ("He-that-follows"—the Pleiades), the 4th Arabian moon-station, so constantly coupled by the classic writers, from the $\Pi\lambda\eta\iota\dot{a}\hat{c}as$ of the Iliad downwards. Speaking of Perseus, Aratos says:—

"Near his left thigh together sweep along
The flock of Clusterers.† Not a mighty space
Holds all, and they themselves are dim to see.
And seven paths aloft men say they take,
Yet six alone are viewed by mortal eyes.
From Zeus' abode no star unknown is lost
Since first from birth we heard.‡
They thus together small and faint roll on,
Yet notable at morn and eve through Zeus,
Who bade them show when winter first begins,
And summer, and the season of the plough."§

^{*} Proceedings, Feb. 1889, p. 151.

[†] Vide Hahn, Tsuni || Goam, p. 147. I think this derivation is decidedly preferable to that which connects the name with a "sailing season." Note also the description of the Cluster, and cf. the Heb. Kimah (Job ix, 9; xxxviii, 31; Amos v, 8), the Pleiades, which "is evidently nothing but the Assyrian kimtu, 'family.' The stem is kamû, 'to tie,' the family being called kimtu because its members are connected by one common tie" (Delitzsch, The Hebrew Language viewed in the Light of Assyrian Research, pp. 69-70).

^{‡ (}Of anything.)

[§] Phainomena, 254-60, 264-7.

Aratos does not include the *Pleiades* in *Taurus*, of which latter he says:—

"The horned Bull, fallen near the Driver's feet, Behold. And very like him lie the stars; Thus is his head distinguished; other mark Is needless to discern the head, since stars On both sides shape it as they roll along. Much mentioned is their name, nor, soothly, are The Rainy-ones unheard of. They have place On the whole front of the Bull."*

The following diagram of the Ptolemaic *Taurus* illustrates how the original lunar Bull† was reduplicated in the constellational *Bull*, and shows the "Great" and "Little Twins" in the scheme of the Thirty Stars.

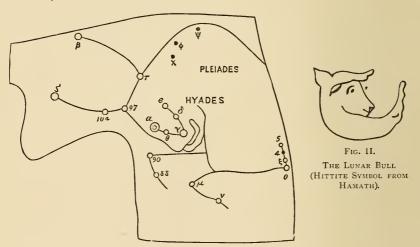


FIG. I. THE PTOLEMAIC TAURUS.

The Gut-an-na ("Bull-of-heaven") is in the kharran Samsi ("Sun-path"), and is mentioned in connexion with rain.‡ As

^{*} Phainomena, 167-74.

[†] Vide Fig. 2.

[‡] W.A.I. III, 53, No. 1, Rev., lines 15-16. This well accords with the "pluviae Hyades" (Vergil, Aen. I, 744; III, 516), "tristes Hyades" (Horace, Car. I, iii, 4). "Hyadas Graius ab imbre vocat" (Ovid, Fasti, V, 166). Thalês said they were two in number, a northern and a southern star.

noticed,* Sarnerra and Gallamta-uddua are regent divinities of the "Great Twins," together with

The "Hero," Ner, Nerra, is the Death-god, called "Nergal of the Apparitions,"† patron divinity of the Akkadian town Gudua ("the Resting-place"), Semitic Kutu, where was a famous necropolis. Hence, "the men of Cuth," when transplanted into the land of Israel, still "made Nergal" their special god.‡ The Moon-god is appropriately connected with the peculiarly lunar constellation Taurus; \$ and Bartabba is a title of Nergal. || Gal (cf. the Turkic kulli, 'great') + gal = "very great"; la, the emphatic prolongation So we find >> | \$\frac{1}{2} - \frac{1}{2} - \f

Line 6, Star No. V.

Kakkab Bar - tab - ba - du - du

The-Star of-the-Little-Twins.

7. 十 (1) 大 (1) 大

The-goddess Sidu, and the goddess Lady-of-rising.

Bartabba = (lit.) "The-double (\rightleftharpoons , taba) half" (\dotplus , bar.) "The Little Twins," as will be seen from Fig. 1, must be Nath ("Horn-push," β Tauri) and ζ Tauri. Ninsar is a name of Istar**

- * Sup. (Jan.), p. 148. † W.A.I. III, 67, 70, ap. Sayce.
- ‡ 2 Kings xvii, 30. Οἱ ἄνδρες Χοὺθ ἐποίησαν τὴν Ἐργέλ (LXX, in loc.).
- § Vide R. B., Jr., Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo, sec. viii. Cf. Porphyry: "The Moon, who presides over generation, was called by the ancients a Bull. Taurus is the exaltation of the Moon" (Peri tou Nymph. Ant., VIII).
- ** "The true etymology" of the non-Semitic goddess-name Istar (or As-tar) is said to have been "buried in the night of antiquity" (Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, p. 257. Prof. Sayce regards Esther as a variant); but it at once appears on a comparison with the cognate dialects:—Sumero-Ak. Is(-tar), Magyar Is(-ten), Kamacintzi Esch, Arintzi Eisch ('God'), Venissei-Ostiak És ('heaven'); for, as Castrén observes, "Allen altaischen Völkern am meisten den himmlischen Gott

as connected with the planet *Venus*; Istar-*Venus* is, however, generally called FY Min-śi-an-na, "Lady-of-thegarden-of-heaven."

Line 7 couples as also regent divinities of "The Little Twins," 'Ilu Si-du, "and the goddess Ninsar," whose name occurs, too, in the second part of line 6. "The goddess Sidu" appears to be "Siduri, the Istar of wisdom." \dagger As Si-du = 'eye' + "the goer," \ddagger we have here a lunar Istar, appropriately presiding over the stars of the Bull, and afterwards reduplicated in a planetary Istar.

Line 8, Star No. VI.

Prof. Sayce remarks of the Akkadian Pantheon, that "its several personages, mostly forms of the Sun, were identified with [or, rather, as I should prefer to express it—were reduplicated in] the planets and the stars." § Thus, in W.A.I. III, 53, 2, we find that Merôda χ , who is primarily the Sun, was reduplicated in various stars in different months, and in the month Tebet was Sarru, "the King," a word used by the Akkadai in the borrowed form Sar, = Akkadian, Un-gal, "Great-man," = 'King."

Es verehren" (Die Finnische Mythologie, p. 228). He gives Asa and Yzyt as south Siberian forms (Ibid., p. 186). It reappears in the well-known Etruscan Ais-ar ('god,' or, rather 'gods.' Vide Suetonius, Augustus, c. 97; Hêsychios: Aisou· θ toì $\dot{\nu}\pi\dot{\nu}$ Tv $\dot{\rho}\dot{\rho}\eta\nu\tilde{\omega}\nu$). The tar in Is-tar=the Ak. tur, 'small,' 'young' (cf. Ak. tur-rak, -rakki, "little-woman"='daughter'), Finnic tar, 'son,' 'child,' ty-tar, 'girl,' Mordvin tsora, 'son,' Magyar dér, 'girl,' Asiatic Turkic tura (vide Lenormant, Chaldran Magic, pp. 300-1), Etruscan etera, 'child.' Is-tar="Heaven-child," "Daughter-of-Heaven." Tar is the most common ending for the names of the female mythological personages mentioned in the Kalevala, the great epic poem of Finland, e.g., Etele-tar (a daughter of the South-wind), Ilmatar (Daughter of the Air), Kaleva-tar (the Daughter of Kaleva='Hero'), Lowyatar (the Daughter of Tuoni, the god of death; cf. the Ak. god Tu, 'Death'), etc.

^{*} Vide W.A.I. II, 57, 20.

[†] W.A.I. IV, 58-9, Col. iv, line 2, ap. Sayce. Mr. Boscawen reads "the goddess of wisdom" (*Transactions*, VI, p. 540), 'Istar' being used at times in the general sense of goddess.

[‡] Cf. the Hellenic moon-name Iô, "the Goer." \times also="to wax" (as the moon).

[§] Transactions, III, p. 166.

Now the Tablet of the Thirty Stars has some special connexion with three particular months, Kisleu, Tebet (December–January), and Sebat * We may, therefore, identify the Star of the King with the upper part of Orion, Betelgeux (a Orionis) and Bellatrix (γ Orionis), and the stars adjoining. Of these, λ and ϕ form the 5th Arabian moon-station, and the warrior Merôda χ well corresponds with the mighty giant hunter.† Merôda χ , as a sun-god, "was identified with the ancient [Akkadian] Gudibir ("the-Bull-of-light"), and astrology taught that he was one and the same with each of the twelve zodiacal signs."‡ This Euphratean doctrine appears in full development in late classical times.§

Line 9, Star No. VII.

The Akkadian *i-ik ai*, = Assyrian *iku mie*. Ik = Assyrian $n \hat{a} r u$ 'river,' and "the River" in question will be the famous Eridanus, which now begins at Rigel ("the Foot" of Orion, β Orionis), and which perhaps begun at the Belt-stars in this scheme.

The regent-divinity of the *River* is the Fire-god, often identified with the Sun-god, and the connexion between the latter and *Eridanus*, I have fully illustrated elsewhere. The name of the Akkadian Fire-god Kibir, the Sumerian Gibil, according to Lenormant, reappears in the name of the Emperor Ela-gabal-us; and, as has been remarked by Prof. Lacouperie, is found in the Mongolian ghel, and other Turanian words for 'fire.' In an "Incantation to Fire," Gi-bil or Bil-gi is addressed as "The Fire-god, the prince who (is) in the lofty country."

^{*} Vide Part III, line 54.

[†] For a full consideration and analysis of the mythological and non-Hellenic Oriôn, vide R. B., Jr., The Great Dionysiak Myth, II, p. 270 ct seq.; Eridanus, p. 9-10; The Myth of Kirkê, p. 146 ct seq.

[‡] Sayce, Rel. Anct. Bahylonians, p. 107.

[§] Vide Macrobius, Saturnalia, I, 21, where the connexion between the Sun and the Signs is set forth at length. "Nec solus Leo sed signa quoque universa zodiaci ad naturam solis iure referuntur."

^{||} Vide R. B., Jr., Eridanus, River and Constellation.

[¶] W.A.I. IV, 14, Rev., line 3, ap. Budge.

Line 10, Star No. VIII.

Kakkab Pal - lik - a | D.P. Na - na - a

The-Star of-the Crossing-dog. | The-goddess Nana.

The next remarkable star near the ecliptic is *Procyon (Canis Minor)*. Nana ("the Lady"), is in origin a phase of Istar; and, according to Lenormant, she was called *Nin-ka-si* ("the-Lady-with-the-horned-countenance"), = the Moon.*

Line 12, Star No. IX.

Kakkab Mu - śir - kes - da D.P. A - nim
The-Star Yoke - of - the - enclosure of Anu,

El- FIIIE V -+ FI -+ Elrabu - u sa same rabi

prince of the-heaven great.

As regards the star-name, I follow the reading kindly given me by Prof. Sayce, but, for obvious reasons, cannot agree with him that the constellation *Draco* is intended. "The enclosure of Anu" would seem to be the ecliptic. As to the idea of a 'yoke,' vide *Proceedings*, Jan., 1890, p. 146; and for the latter part of this line, vide the remarks of Mr. Bertin, *The Pre-Akkadian Semites*, p. 4. Taking the ecliptic-stars in their order, we may identify the *Yoke-of-the-enclosure* with *Pollux* (\$\beta\$ Geminorum\$), the 7th Arabian moon-station.

Line 13, Star No. X.

Kakkab Tur-us mal ma χ | D.P. Dânu The-Star Son-of-the-supreme-temple. | The divine Judge.

This Star will be *Castor* (a *Geminorum*). The Pole-star was called, in Akkadian, *Tir-anna*, Assyrian, *Dayan-same*, "Judge-of-heaven"; but the original "divine Judge" is the Sun-god.

^{*} For illustration of the mythological connexion between the Dog and the Moon, vide R. B., Jr., *The Unicorn*, Sec. vi.

Line 14, Star No. XI.

Kakkab Gis-bar namru sa pan Bel - me - khi - ra

The-Star Wood-of-light the shining which before Bel-the-Confronter (is).

"In my right hand the god who binds the hosts of the firmament I bear.

The Sun-god of fifty faces, the falchion which proclaims me as Anu I bear." \dagger

The sun is the original disk hurled at darkness by the heaven-power, and here the solar disk is reduplicated in a stellar disk, which, being next on the list and opposite the *Great Bear*, there is no difficulty in identifying with the upper part of the *Sickle*, in *Leo*, the stars of which form an excellent circle, while the whole of it exactly represents in form the "sickle-shaped sword" of Merôdax-Perseus.‡ The *Sickle* forms the 10th Arabian moon-station. What the actual name of this Star was, is very doubtful; for *Gisbar* is merely, like **| **YINE*| **+, *Gis-dhu-bar*, a phonetic reading, and the name may be written ideographically. At one time Prof. Sayce thought the Akkadian pronunciation of **| *YYE*| **+ was *Kibir-ra*; *\\$ ** is the determinative prefix for 'tree' and 'wood,' and **+, as Mr. Boscawen has pointed out, || "appears to contain the elements of the primitive fire-stick." The Akkadian Fire-god, like the Vedic Agni, is doubtless the Son of the Two Sticks.

^{*} Vide R. B., Jr., On Euphratean Names of the Constellation Ursa Major (Proceedings, March, 1887).

[†] W.A.I. II, 19, No. 2, Rev., lines 8, 10, ap. Sayce.

[‡] Vide sup., p. 184.

[§] Vide sup., p. 189.

[|] Transactions, VI, p. 275.

Line 15, Star No. XII.

Kakkab Gub - ba(-ra) mes - su - tu E - kur

The-Star Fire-flame, time of-the-House-of-the-East.

Prof. Sayce renders Gubarra, "Fire-flame," and observes that the Sumerian Gubarra is an older form of the Akkadian Mubarra, and that the form gis-bar ('fire') shows that the original name was Gusbarra; gus, "the sky," gus, "fire," and gus-qin, "the yellow metal" (gold) being connected words. Kibir-ra and Gibil are "dialectal forms of Gubarra." With gus compare the Uigur kis, kiz, 'fiery,' 'warm,' the Tchagatai kizi, 'warm,' the Kazan kizil, 'red,' the Kirgish kizil, 'beautiful,' the Aderbijan kizil, 'gold,' 'red,' the Osmanli kiz-mak, the Koibal-Karagass kezel, 'red,' etc. "The Star Fire-flame" will be Regulus (a Leonis). Kur = "mountain (the east)." "Le ê-kur cosmique est la terre et la region souterraine.. le ê-kur est assimilé à l'arali comme region infernale."* "Beyond the mountain, and to the north-east, extended the land of Arali, which was very rich in gold, and was inhabited by the gods and spirits."† The regent divinities of this Star are Sin and Nergal.

Line 16, Star No. XIII.

Kakkab 'ilu Ku-a mes-su-tu E-kur

The-Star of-the-god Kua, time of-the-House-of-the-East.

Kua is an 'oracle,' Merôda χ is called Kua as the oracle-god, and his special sanctuary "went by the name of E-kua, 'the house of the oracle.'". The next stars in order are Zosma ("Back hair," δ Leonis) and δ Leonis, which form the 11th Arabian moon-station, and the regent divinities are Anu and Bel.

Line 17, Star No. XIV.

Kakkab Lamaś - śu mikid-isati ilu Ba - u

The-Star the Colossus, the-burning-of-fire of-the-goddess Bahu.

^{*} Lenormant, Les Origines de l'Histoire, II, p. 232, note I.

[†] Ibid., Chaldean Magic, p. 152. As to Aráli, vide Proceedings, May, 1888, p. 355. The Rev. E. G. King, Akkadian Genesis, p. 22, has some interesting remarks on E-kur.

[‡] Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, p. 95.

The lamma, primitive form lamas, Assyrian lamasśu, was the symbolical, human-headed, winged bull, the guardian of a temple-entrance. As to the goddess Bahu, identical or identified with the As to the goddess Gula," who is mentioned in the second part of the line, vide Proceedings, May, 1888, p. 351. The next Star in order is Denebola ("Tail-of-Lion"), which forms the 12th Arabian moon-station. The solar Lion, it will be observed, is not represented in this scheme.

Line 18, Star No. XV.

Kakkab Nin - śar u D.P. Ur - ra - gal
The-Star Lady-of-heaven, and the-god-of-the-Great-city.

D.P. Nergal u U - bi - tum

Nergal and the Double-one-of-evening.

We now come to the zodiacal $Virgo,^*$ the two leading stars in which, β and η Virginis, forming part of the 13th Arabian moonstation, and described by Ptolemy as "the one at the top of the southern and left wing," and "the foremost of the four in the left wing," will answer to the Lady-of-heaven and Urragal (= Nergal). "A punning etymology connected his name with 'the great city' (uru-gal), as if it had been Ne(r)-uru-gal, 'the Ner of Hades.'"† Ubitum or Ahbitum is "evidently the same as Istar,"‡ in her planetary phase as "Star of the morn and eve." The two stars Ninsar and Urragal are elsewhere named together.

Line 19, Star No. XVI.

Kakkab Dannu 'ilu Da - mu | D.P. A - nu The-Star of-the Hero (i.e.), the god Sky-furrow. | Anu.

This Star seems to be Zavijava ('Angle,' \(\gamma\) Virginis), which forms part of the 13th Arabian moon-station. "My hero the god Damu," is alluded to in W.A.I. IV, 30; da has the meaning of 'furrow,' and mu of 'sky,' Assyrian, samu.

^{*} Vide R. B., Jr., Remarks on the Zodiacal Virgo (in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, 1886).

[†] Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, p. 195.
‡ Mr. Pinches to R. B., Jr.

Line 20, Star No. XVII.

Kakkab D.P. (Ansu) Kur - ra | D.P. Ramanu icabbid

The-Star of-the-Animal-from-the-East. | The-god Rimmon-is-terrible.

"The Animal from the East" is the Horse.* In W.A.I. III, 53, No. 1, lines 26-7, we meet with the Star - I & III & Say translated by Prof. Sayce, "Rimmon-is-terrible," but in Akkadian, Im-dugud-khu, 'Storm' + 'much' + 'bird,' "the Great Storm-bird," that is "the Bird of the divine storm-cloud," "the Giant-bird," etc., which appears in Euphratean legend † as Lugal-tudda, "the Lustyking." The constellation in question is Corvus. Of the Water-snake, Aratos says that "the end

"Bears a *Crow's* form which seems to peck the fold;" ‡ and true to its original mythological connexion with the storm-cloud, we read of *Im-dugud-khu*, "that star for mist (and) tempest is." §

Line 21, Star No. XVIII.

Kakkab Lu - lim | Bel - me - khi - ra

The-Star of-the-Stag. | Ursa Major.||

As to Lulim, vide Sayce, Transactions, III, p. 172; Rel. Anct. Babylonians, p. 284. Mr. Bertin is inclined to read ()-, daššu, "translated by some 'Gazelle.'" The next Star in order is ô Virginis, which is below the Great Bear, and forms part of the 13th Arabian moon-station.

Line 22, Star No. XIX.

Kakkab Mulu izi u D.P. La - ta - rak |

The-Star Man-of-fire, and the-god Latarak.

D.P. Sin u D.P. Nergal

The Moon and Nergal.

^{*} Vide Transactions, V, p. 51.

[†] Vide R. B., Jr., Eridanus, pp 69-70.

[‡] Phainomena, 449. § W.A.I. III, 53, No. 1, line 27.

^{||} Vide Star No. XI.

The next Star is *Vindemiatrix*,* apparently formerly brighter than at present. "The god Latarak" is named on a Planisphere, and in W.A.I. IV, 21, No. 1, we read (ap. Sayce);—

"Against all evil that cannot be faced (set) the Honey-god and Latarak [i.e., their images] in the gate."

And in W.A.I. IV, 58, 59, Latarak is called "the divine king of the desert (Eden)."

Line 23, Star No. XX.

The Lady is Belat (Beltis), the wife of Bel; Tintirki is a common name for Babylon, and the Star in question is Spica (a Virginis), which forms the 14th Arabian moon-station.

Line 24, Star No. XXI.

^{*} Vide Proceedings, Feb., 1889, p. 150. + W.A.I. III, 57, line 55.

[‡] Ibid., II, 49, 47. § Vide Proceedings, Feb., 1889, p. 150.

unable to give any explanation of the Assyrian word apparrû," Prof. Sayce adds in a foot-note,* "Arabic dictionaries give afr as 'statio quaedam lunae' or 'tres stellulae in Libra' [italics mine], but I do not know on what authority." Whatever the authority it appears to be perfectly correct, and of very ancient date; what animal may be represented by $sa\chi$ -masluv, apparrû, and afr, whether bear, boar, gazelle, or any other, does not specially concern us in the present investigation, but it is clear that the three stars of Libra (formerly the Claws) which = Afr, are Zuben-el-genubi ("The Southern-claw," a Librae), Zuben-el-chemali ("The Northern-claw," β Librae), and Zuben-cl-hakrabi ("The Claw-of-the-Scorpion," γ Librae). "The Constellation of the Tail-tip," then, will be these three stars, or some, or one of them, placed at the end of the tail of the enormous Hydra:—

"The Water-snake they call it. As alive
It crawls far-stretching, for the head extends
'Neath the Crab's midst, the main coil 'neath the Lion;
Whilst even o'er the Centaur hangs its tail.";

The Great Serpent is a familiar Euphratean emblem. \ddagger A and β Librae form the 16th Arabian moon-station.

Line 25, Star No. XXII.

Kakkab Gis - gan - gusur kakku sa D.P. Ea

The-Star the Tree, Light-of the-hero, weapon of Ea,

sa ina lib - bi - su absi iskun
which in the - midst of-the-abyss he-placed.

26. FI FI FI FIN FIN ACTION Maruduk

The-falchion, | the-weapon of the-hand of Merôdax.

Prof. Sayce renders *Gan-gusur*, "Light-of-the-hero," and *Gis*, as noticed, § = 'tree,' 'wood.' But, as *gan* is also an 'enclosure' or

^{*} Transactions, V, p. 334. † Aratos, Phainomena, 444-7.

[‡] Vide Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I (W.A.I. V, 57); R. B., Jr., Eridanus, Fig. 4, p. 77.

[§] Vide sup., p. 191.

'garden,' and gusur = As. nuru, 'light,' Gis-gan-gusur might be read "The-Tree-of-the-Garden-of-Light." This radiant Tree is further described as being the 'weapon' (power) of the gods Ea and Merôdaχ, and the mulmulla + is one of the weapons of Merôdaχ in his fight with the Dragon. The Tree is placed "in the midst of the abyss," and it is impossible to avoid comparing it with the "Tree-oflife" placed "in the midst" of the Biblical Gan-Êden. Without any intention of trenching upon other meanings and beliefs which may be connected with the subject, I may observe that "the Garden of God," whatever else the expression signifies, is the star-lighted splendour of space, the calm abode of "the moving gems of night," as Aratos calls them. It has some central point, the heart of the universe, the special abode of life, whether, as has been thought, hard by Alycone, or whether, as seems here suggested, in Scorpio, type of primaeval darkness and a starting-point and foundation;† for the stars which form the "Tree-of-light" are evidently those which Ptolemy calls "the three bright ones in the face" (of the Scorpion), β , δ , and π Scorpionis, which are fixed in line, and might well represent the trunk of a tree or the stem of a plant. The ideograph - YX, Ak. zi, As. napistu, 'life,' "originally represented a flower growing up with open leaves"; and the mystic Flower, Plant, or Tree of Life, of which there are so many representations on the monuments, reappears in many mythological systems. We find it in the Aryan Soma-Haoma, the Irminsul, the Winged Oak of Pherekydês, the Tree in which Europa (= Ereb, "the West") appears on Kretan coins, and the Norse Yggdrasil. The very similar ideograph - [] Ak. gi, "a reed," shows in the linear Babylonian form, a good representation of the gigantic reed of that country; and this plant had a mystic significance, for an Incantation reads:-

"The huge reed of gold, the pure reed of the marsh,
The pure dish of the gods,
The reed of the double white [divining] cup which
determines favour." §

The three stars β , $\hat{\epsilon}$, and π *Scorpionis* form the 17th Arabian moon-station, called *El Iklīl*, "the Crown"

[‡] Prof. Sayce, in Transactions, VI, p. 473.

[§] W.A.I. IV, 5, 6, Col. V, lines 37-9, ap. Sayce.

Line 27, Star No. XXIII.

Kakkab Mâsu (?) sar | The-Star the-Hero, the king |

Bilu sa ziri (ina) arakh Tasritu D.P. Lugal - tud - da

The-lord of seed; (in) the-month Tisri the Lusty-king.

The reading of $\{\xi\}$, an almost unique form, is very doubtful; but there is no uncertainty as to the King-star, which is, in the words of Ptolemy, "the centre one of the three bright ones in the body [of the Scorpion], a reddish-yellow, called Equal-to-Arês" ('Αυτάρηs), Mars being "the red planet." It is named Sar, Ak. Lugal, "the King," and, similarly, Ul Saru, "the-Luminary-of-the-King," is one of the titles of Mars. This star, Cor Scorpionis, is described by way of explanation as "the lord of seed" in connexion with "the month Tisri," the 7th month, September-October. Now the original Sign of the seventh month, as I have elsewhere endeavoured to show,* was the Altar; and in art the Signs of the seventh and eighth months were at times represented by a Scorpion with its claws (afterwards the Sign $X_{\eta}\lambda_{\alpha i}$) grasping a circle† (circular Altar), originally the solar circle. A variant phase of the Scorpion is the zodiacal Cancer, the Crab, the Sign of the fourth month, which is called Su Kulna, "the-Seizer-of-seed." The original golden seed of heaven is the Sun, which, as in various mythologies, is seized and swallowed up by the Darkness, symbolized in monstrous and drakontic form. This is the primary meaning, and it is in the month Tisri that the waning autumn Sun begins to succumb to his foes. There may or may not be also a secondary reference to agricultural operations, but these do not form the basis of archaic symbolism, inasmuch as man's observation of nature preceded any regular agricultural course. The reader may remember in this connexion the gigantic bicorporeal Scorpion-couple of sun-guarders, encountered by the hero Gisdhubar; and on the Stone of Nebuchadnezzar I. the Scorpion stretches out its Claws towards the solar Lamp.‡ When

^{*} Vide R. B., Jr., The Law of Kosmic Order, Secs. xiii, xvi, xvii; The Heavenly Display, p. 65.

⁺ Vide Lajard, Culte de Mithra, Pl. XLV, Fig. 14.

[‡] Vide R. B., Jr., The Heavenly Display, Fig. 77, p. 84.

the principle of kosmic harmony is grasped, the Scorpion which slew the Sun, becomes its guardian;* Darkness receives the Sun into its care, and safely reproduces the solar Circle, Egg, or Lamp. Similarly, in the Egyptian religious-mythology the Scorpion is styled "the Daughter [i.e., mythologically speaking, the 'Successor'] of the Sun."† The Star Antarês is, moreover, identified with Lugal-tudda, ‡ patron divinity of Marad near Sippara, and regarded by the Semites as their Zu (= 1. "Stormy-wind," and 2. a kind of vulture), whom ancient legends show as hostile to the other gods, and as stealing "the tablets of destiny," the god of the lightning and giver of fire to man; and it is interesting to find that the ideograph >> YYY, gir, pictorially representing 'blade,' 'sting,' or "pointed tail," means "to strike," 'scorpion,' 'plough,' and 'lightning.' As the Ak. tab is "to seize," Girtab ("the Scorpion") is "the-Seizer-and-stinger," "the torment of a scorpion, when he striketh a man," being compared with the burning of lightning. Cor Scorpionis forms the 18th Arabian moon-station, called El Kalb ("the Heart").

Line 28, Star No. XXIV.

Kakkab Nita
$$\chi$$
-bat | pa - gar a - śig

The-Star Man-of-death; | the corpse, the fever.

This group will be *e Serpentarii* (Yad, "the Hand") and *C Serpentarii*. In modern astrology, which contains some singular survivals, the Hand of Ophiuchus is said to be a star "evil in influence." Representations of serpent-holding divinities are common on the monuments. In W.A.I. IV, 3, Col. I, 1, we read (ap. Sayce):— "The disease of the head coils (like a serpent) in the desert." The Man-of-death would seem to be "Ophiuchus huge," who stands on the Scorpion and holds the Snake.

Line 29, Star No. XXV.

₹	₹ }{	-	~ Y -	企画		AEY		EY-
Kakkab	Tsir	-	'Ilu	Nin	-	ki	-	gal
The-Star	of-the-Snake.		The-goddess	Quee	n-of-	the-G	rea	t-Region.

^{*} Vide Lajard, Culte de Mithra, Pl. LIV, C, Fig. 13, which shows a Scorpion on each side of the leonine Sun.

[†] Funereal Ritual, Cap. LXXXVI. ‡ Vide sup., p. 194.

[§] For the rendering of the latter part of this line I am indebted to Mr. Bertin.

^{||} Vide R. B. Jr., The Heavenly Display, p. 85.

The Star of the *Snake*, which will be η *Serpentarii*, as we should expect, is next to the *Snake-holder*; and, in the *Phainomena*, *Ophis* and *Ophiouchos* form but one constellation, which is thus described:—

"By his head*

"Seek the Snakeholder's head; and then from it You may behold his shining form itself; So bright the gleaming shoulders 'neath his head Appear. These, even when the moon is full, Can be beheld; the hands are quite unequal, Fer feeble glitter flickers here and there. Both of them grasp a Snake, which round the waist Of the Snake-ho.der twines; but he well-fixed, With each foot presses on a monster huge, The Scorpion, o'er eye and breast scale standing Upright, the Snake, meanwhile, in both hands writhing: Less in the right, most holds the left on high."+

The regent divinity in Ninkigal, in Semitic Allat ("the Unwearied,") also called Ninlil ("Queen-of-the-Ghost-World,") and Ninge ("Queen-of-the-Underworld"), the "Great Region," being Scheôl-Hadês. As Mr. Gladstone; has pointed out, Ninkigal possesses the prominence and dread character of the Homeric Persephoneia, a phase and aspect which the latter goddess has borrowed from her Eastern sister. We have seen that the Akkadian Ôkeanos is sometimes compared to a snake; and the "River of the Snake" is also called "the River of the Sheepcote of the Ghost-World," a line of thought which connects the Snake with the Underworld and its goddess-Mistress. But the Snake has so many aspects in archaic thought, beneficial and honoured, as well as malignant and dreaded, that it is not surprising to find various and highly different divinities connected with it. Snakes, it may be observed, are very prominent in Etruscan Underworld-scenes.

^{*} I.e., the head of Engonasin ("the Kneeler"), originally the Kneeling-Gisdhubar of the monuments (vide Smith and Sayce, Chaldean Account of Genesis, Frontispiece, "Izdubar in conflict with a Lion").

[†] Phainomena, 74-87. ‡ Homeric Synchronism, p. 235.

[§] Vide R. B., Jr., The Myth of Kirkê, p. 117 et seq.

^{||} Vide sup. (Jan.), p. 149, n.

Line 31, Star No. XXVI.

We here return to the *Scorpion*, the Star in question being λ (*Lesath*, 'sting,') and *v Scorpionis*, λ being described by Ptolemy as "the hindermost of the two in the sting," and forming with *v Scorpionis*, the 19th Arabian moon-station. In *Scorpio*, as in *Taurus*, the stars of the constellation strongly suggest the Sign, but this is quite exceptional; in almost all instances the stars of a constellation have been adjusted to a previously-conceived figure. Iskhara is identical with Istar, and, the latter goddess being primarily lunar, Iskhara, "the mistress of mankind,"* is, suitably enough, "the goddess of the sea." The *Kakkab Girtab* appears on the fragment of the circular planisphere S. 162, now in the British Museum, and "which once contained the names of the twelve months with the signs of the Zodiac which ruled over them." It is connected with "the 8th month."

These two gods are elsewhere found together, and Mr. Pinches suggested to me that Sarur means "the Director of fire," as "UR = $\hat{a}r\bar{a}ru$, to burn"; Mr. Bertin regards ur as being the Assyrian kalhu 'dog,' in which case Sar-ur = "the Leader of the Dog." I think that these two, which are elsewhere described as "double stars" (i.e., stars close together), are names for λ and v Scorpionis, that is, for Girtab; and we obtain from Aratos a very possible explanation of what may be the meaning of the title "Leader of the Dog" as applied to Girtab. The poet tells the old legend how Oriôn (the Sun) insulted Artemis (the Moon), whereupon she sent the Scorpion (Darkness), which slew him; and says, when speaking of the Signs of the Zodiac and their paranatellons:—

"The River's windings when the Scorpion comes, In the full flowing deep will straightway fall; And great Oriôn, two, his advent fears."

^{*} W.A.I. IV, 58-9, Col. IV, 1, ap. Sayce.

Then follows the Artemis-legend, and the poet continues:—

"And so 'tis said that, when the Scorpion comes, Oriôn flies to utmost end of earth,"

And when the *Bow*-stars, which are next to *Girtab-Lesath*, appear:—

"Then, too, the glitterings of the mighty Dog Set, and descends Oriôn's whole extent."*

The "mighty Dog" is, of course, Kaksidi-Sirius, and "the Star of the Dog," the Kalbu Samas ("Dog-of-the-Sun"), the fiery Dog, the Kuôn Seirios,† the Homeric κύν' 'Ωρίωνος, appears amongst Euphratean constellations.‡

Line 33, Star No. XXVII.

南层下水路参三十十分里 Kakkab Ur-bat D.P. Ku - su | D.P. Kur - gal The-Star Beast-of-death, the god Kush, | god of-the Great-Country

The Star *Urbat* appears next to the Star *Girtab*, but in an outer circle on the planisphere S. 162, above referred to; that is to say, the Beast-of-death lies south of the Scorpion, and so we shall find it. Thus, Aratos says of the solar *Centaur*, a reduplication of *Sagittarius*, that it

> underlies two Signs; Its human past beneath the Scorpion rests, The hinder-horse-part is below the Claws. But his right hand he ever seems to stretch Before the *Altar's* circle. The hand grasps Another creature very firmly clutched, The Wild-beast; so the men of old it named."

This Thêrion becomes specialized as Lupus; the Wolf, a familiar mythological type of Darkness as the devourer and swallower, is called in Akkadian Likbiku ("Greedy-dog"), and in Assyrian, Akiluv ("the Devourer"). The regent divinity of this creature of night and death ¶ is Kusu ('Sunset,' 'Eclipse'), an Akkadian god of sunset and night, and a god of the Underworld or "Great Country."

^{*} Phainomena, 634-6, 645-6, 676-7. † Aischylos, Agamemnôn, 967.

[‡] As to the Dog, vide R. B., Jr., Eridanus, Sec. iv; The Heavenly Display, p. 78.

[§] A reduplication of the original zodiacal Altar, now Libra (vide sup., p. 198.)

[|] Phainomena, 436-42.

[¶] Cf. the Norse demon-wolf Feurir ("the-Dweller-in-the-depth").

Line 34, Star No. XXVIII.

Kakkab A - nu - ni - tum u kakkab Si - nu - nu - tum

The-Star of - Anunit and the-star of Sinuntu.

The Akkadian divinity Anúna (= an nuna, "the great god") of Sippara was made by the Semites into the female Anunit ("Greatgoddess"), and identified with Istar. She is described by Nabunahid (Nabonidos) as "the mistress of battle, the bearer of the bow and quiver, ... who made omens favourable at sunrise and sunset;" * and this represents her in a planetary phase, as the star of morn and eve, Venus. But she is further reduplicated in a stellar form, and Anunitum is called "the Star of the River Mas-gu-gar" † ("the Current"), i.e., "rapidus Tigris." The Star (constellation) in question will consist of the Bow-stars of Sagittarius, which are thus appropriately connected with the goddess of the bow, and are described by Ptolemy as "The star at the point of the arrow (γ) ; the star at the grip of the left hand $(\hat{\partial})$; the one in the southern part of the bow (e, Kaus, "the Bow"); the more-southerly of those in the northern part of the bow" (λ); and "the more-northerly of those at the end of the bow" (µ). The Kakkab Sinuntu is "the Star of the Purattu" ("the Curving-river"), the Akkadian Puranunu, Egyptian Puharta, Hebrew Perâth, Median Uprato, Old Persian Ufratu, Classical Euphratês. The stars composing it will be σ and ζ Sagittarii; and the combined group of Anunitum and Sinuntu forms the 20th Arabian moon-station.

In the first part of this Paper I described Stars Nos. I, XXIX, and XXX; and we have therefore now gone round the heavenly circle.

II.

Lines 54–6 in Part III of the Tablet also occur, in a slightly dlifferent form, in W.A.I. III, 61, 2, lines 19–20, a translation of which has been made by Prof. Sayce in the *Transactions*, III, p. 291. As this translation appeared more than fifteen years ago, the learned author would doubtless now make some alterations in it; but, at the same time, it is by means of the assistance obtained from it and

^{*} Vide Sayce, Rel. Anct. Babylonians, 182-4.

[†] W.A.I. II, 51, 58.

from Mr. Bertin, that I am enabled to offer the following rendering of the passage, which I venture to think much more nearly expresses the meaning of the original.

54. W \ Arakh Cuzallu arakh Dhabitu arakh Sabadhu karan

The-month Kisleu, the-month Tebet, the-month Sebet. The-horn

D.P. Sin sumelu itsabbat - va itti as - ri of-the-Moon the-left-hand occupies, and with the-stations

nu - ukh - khu - tu u - di - e

a - leading - back is - shown.

Sa 3 arkhi an - nu - ti yumu 15 'ilu itti 'ilu la

For these three months on-the-fifteenth day god with god is not

innamar Sa yumu 30 la khalabu seen. Ditto. For the 30th day (it is) * not clouded.

Notes.

54. YKK = As. YKY, Ak. gub, As. sumelu, "left hand."† The Euphratean North = our N.W., and the right hand being towards the East, the left would be towards the West, our S.W., Ak. Mermartu ("the-point-of-the-road-of-sunset),‡ the S.W. and S.E. being the part of the heavens occupied by the Moon.

'Occupies.' Lit. 'seizes.' The same expression $(E) \rightarrow (itsab-bat)$, is applied to Mars when entering a zodiacal Sign. Such passages explain the meaning of the Hindu term for 'planet,' *i.e.*, Graha ('Seizer').

 \rightarrow 41, as-ri, Ak. ki, 'place,' etc. This word gives the key to the meaning of the passage. The 'places' are obviously the thirty moon-stations or lunar mansions previously enumerated.

^{*} I.e., the combination of Sun and Moon.

[†] Bertin.

[‡] Vide R. B., Jr., The Myth of Kirkê, p. 99.

[§] W. A.I. III, 53, No. 1, line 21.

55. Nuukhkhutu. Acutely connected by Mr. Bertin with a root which appears in Heb. as רחה, "to lead back."*

Udie. Mr. Bertin thinks this word might be a Pael form of idu, "to know," used as passive, and therefore meaning "is known." In his translation of the B.M. Tablet Sp. 41, Mr. Pinches renders u-di-e, 'furniture,' the passage being "The tablet of his sonship we wrote and 2 mana 10 shekels of silver and the furniture (u-di-e) of a house, the dowry of Nubta, my daughter, we made known."† He remarks on the word, "Ûdê, 'furniture' (the meaning is implied by the context). Perhaps connected with the Heb. "." Now ינה "to cast," appears to mean "to show or point out with the extended hand," and the Pael form of a connected Assyrian verb might mean "is shown." Nor are we, I think, obliged by the Sp. 41, to understand *u-di-e* as meaning 'furniture.' The account relates to litigation, and we find that "the tablets and contracts the judges discussed": and u-di-e seems to mean the 'evidences,' "documents of title" (tablets and contracts), i.e., that which shows (to whom the property belongs). I do not understand what is meant by "the furniture of a house we made known." In line 14 we read, "by my tablet made (it) known"; it was the documentary evidence which made known the facts.

56. > 1. In Ak. an ki an, i.e., "the (sun)-god with the (moon)-god." In W.A.I. III, 61, 2, after the insertion of the three lines 54-6, as mentioned, the next line reads, "The Moon its path directs, and the Sun during the day goes"; so that the Sun and Moon and their respective paths are the matters in question.

The general sense of lines 54–56 is:—Observations made during three particular months: the moon completes its course "there and back" through the various moon-stations. On the 15th days of these months, sun and moon were not seen together: on the 30th days they were so seen.

An Assyrian Cylinder of great interest, figured in the *Chaldean Account of Genesis*, p. 112, exactly illustrates this circling lunar course. At each end, *i.e.*, in east and west, is a Palm-tree, representative of the Grove of the Underworld, eastern and western, and reduplicated in the Homeric ἄλσεα Περσεφονείης.‡ Next to the eastern Palm-tree, on the back of a Leopard, which, as it could be

Q 2

^{*} Cf. Job xii, 23. † Transactions, VIII, p. 284. ‡ Od., X, 509; vide R. B., Jr., The Myth of Kirkê, p. 106-7.

trained to hunt, was a fit symbol for the Hunter-sun, stands the Sungod Merôdax, armed with bow and arrow and the saparu, and lifting his right hand in solemn oath. Above his head is the solar star, which explains the symbolism. In front of him stands the unarmed Moon-god, also lifting his right hand in oath; for the two are making a solemn covenant to preserve kosmic order against the demons of darkness and storm. Behind the Moon-god, and standing on their hind legs, are two Unicorn-goats, counter-salient, with their heads regardant; and in the air, between them and the Moon-god, is the lunar crescent, the key to the symbolism, and divided into three parts, illustrative of the three parts of the month and the triple lunar aspect, by what seem to be handles. The Unicorn, or any animal represented with one horn only, is, as I have shown, a distinctly lunar symbol; and the remarkable position of the two Unicorn-goats—counter-salient, I think clearly indicates the monthly cycling progress of the moon "there and back."

Such, then, is the general scope and import of the Tablet of the Thirty Stars.



THE NEW ACCADIAN.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A., Oxon.,

CHAPLAIN OF LINCOLN'S INN; FORMERLY CENSOR AND LECTURER IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

(Continued from page 80.)

I omitted to suggest any Chinese equivalent for - YA, GI, GIN, gimru, "all," "the whole" (p. 53). The Mandarin hien, Cantonese ham, Amoy ham, Shanghai yèn, "together, all, jointly-totally, completely—always," goes back to this primitive. Cp. also NIGIN, "all together," universum (vide p. 219 infra). The dialectic ham = GAM, $y e^{u} = GIN$. (This fluctuation between M and N as the final sound is parallel to that between M and N as initials, in MU, NU, and similar forms. It may be further illustrated by the fact that a single Accadian sign does duty for both BAN and BAM, and the like.) So hien, han, han, hèn, "a bar, fence—an enclosure—a fold, corral—to obstruct, to close," is plainly identical with , GAN, ginû, eklu, "enclosure," "garden," "field"; GI(N), sanâķu, "to shut in," GA (or GI), kalû, "to close," "restrain" (p. 53 sq.); and h'ien, "sincere" = GIN, kênu, do.; and h'ien, "anything fine, volatile, minute, impalpable" (of the motes in the sunlight) = GI(N), salpru, "small, minute," and ⊭ Y, GINA, širrum, "little," şihrum, "small."

Another Chinese synonym is $k\ddot{u}n$ or $k\ddot{u}\ddot{u}n$ or $chi\ddot{u}n$, "all, altogether, all these," said of preceding items. This term is pronounced $kw\ddot{u}n$, kun, $k\ddot{u}n$, in the three dialects. It is natural to compare it both with GIN, gimru, NI-GIN, napharu, "all together," "the whole," and with racksim, racksim,

put to rights, to complete "= GIN, kunnu, mullú, GA (or GIN?) šullumu. A further Chinese offshoot of the same stock is k'iün or ch'iün, "a flock of sheep, a herd—a concourse, a company, a multitude—all men of the same kind—the whole of, entire"; meanings which may all be referred to UK-KIN, puhru, NI-GIN, napharu. The corresponding M-form is măn, 'the common mandarin particle for all' (Summers, Handbook, p. 54), or, as Dr. Wells Williams calls it, 'the sign of the plural of persons' (e.g., wo-măn, "we, who are together") = Accadian Mê (Mên?), ME-š, "multitude," a sign of the plural. Cp. also mei, "each, every," wo-mei, "all of us"; NI-MIN, "multitudes"; min, "the people"; min, "a multitude"; man, "full, complete, entire, the whole—to fill, to complete."

To the same series as kün, kiün or chiün, "all," belong kai dialectic koi, kai, ké, "all — the whole — abundant"; cp. Accadian GA, in GA-GA puhru; GIN, gimru; G'A, G'Ê, G'U, "abundance" (the other meanings of the Chinese character, viz., "to prepare"=GIN, kunnu—and "fit," "just," "right" = GIN, kênu, further corroborate these comparisons): ki or chi, "to finish — all — entirely" = GI or GIN, gimru, GA or GI, šullumu: k'i or ch'i, "full, abundant—large numerous—multitudes" = GI(N), $mal\hat{u}$, "to be full," and forms cited above: kiai or chié = dialectic kai, kia, "all alike-the whole, altogether (said of things preceding), but often simply a sign of the plural"; 'all' in company, in universum, comprehending the whole class (Summers); cp. kiai or h'ié, dialectic kai, kia, "together, with," of accompaniment = Accadian KI, itti, "along with," and kien, "moreover, and, along with—and also—to join several together"=GIN, sanâku, "to join together," just as kien, "stable, firm—to establish" = GIN, kênu, kunnu. For this last term the Cantonese is kin, Shanghai kin; and Dr. Edkins gives kín, gín, as the older forms—an exact coincidence with the Accadian GIN, KIN, which is all the more valuable because unintended. The Chinese series of k-terms for "all" further comprises kih, chi = kăt, gút, chih, "to close or desist—to finish entirely, all—ended" (old sound kit); cp. KUD, parasu, "to cut off, to decide, stop, hinder," and küeh, Cantonese küt, "to cut off, decide, settle-decidedly, certainly, finally": king, ching, "to exhaust, to finish, at the close, the end-adv. at last, finally, after all " = GIN, "to finish": $k\ddot{o}$, dial. kok, $k\acute{e}k$, $k\grave{o}k$, "each, every, all" = GA-GA, pulpru, "all together," etc.: kü, chü, "all, the whole"—"altogether, at once," and $k\ddot{u}$, "to raise or lift—to begin—all, the whole, of persons"=UKU, "men, the people, the crowd"; KUR, napharis, "in sum;" GIN, gimru,

"all"; GA, GAL, GUR, našû, "to raise or lift," GAL, MAL, pitû, "to open": kung, "generally, all, altogether, collectively—and, with, together": and one or two others.

I have already pointed out that *shu*, "a multitude, the whole, all, the people," answers to Accadian shu, "multitude," shiti, "to count," to which also *shu*, "to count," belongs. *Shu*, "a book, record, document—to write—a clerk, writer," answers to \langle , shu, *dupšarrūtu*, "the office of a *dupšar* or scribe" (the same sign \langle has also the value $G\hat{E}$, $\check{s}at\hat{a}ru$, "to write").

Chung, Cantonese chung, Amoy chiong, Shanghai tsung, "a company of at least three—a sign of the plural of persons—much, many, all—the people, as apart from their rulers," is an example of the d-form of GIN, "all," going back probably to an original dun (din, dim) or dug (dig). But this brings us to the Accadian , DIM, dial. DIG (or DING) surbû "great," rabû, "great," sanûku, "to press together" (= GIN, sanûku). For the interchange between final M (v) and G, compare NAG and NAM, "fate," NIG and NIN, "who." The Shanghai form tsung answers exactly to zun, which is the syllabic value of the Accadian (), ma'du, "much," a common sign of the plural.

(EE), DUGUD, kabtu, "heavy," appears to be a compound of this DIG or DUG, and GID, E>, kabtu, "heavy," sanâku, "to press together"; thus DUGGID = DUGGUD = DUGUD, with vocal harmony and normal neglect of duplication. This accounts for the Chinese chung, "heavy," "crowded, near together" (cp. sanâku), which in the three dialects is pronounced chung (= DUG), tiong, and dzung (= ZUN). The Amoy tiong, which is a cognate of tu, to, "abundant, full—all, altogether—also, together with," and of ti in the phrase ta-ti, "on the whole, generally," and of other terms (e.g., tien, "to fill up, complete," tien, "abundance," which presuppose an ancient TIN), may be compared with Accadian TIL, gimru, "completeness, all" (=*TIN, DIM, GIN, KIN). Thus, in both languages, we find t-forms side by side with d-forms, just as we find k-forms side by side with g-forms. And it is evident from the

Chinese dialects that the initial t for d in Accadian is as much a dialectic distinction as k for g. The Accadian forms \rightarrow , $\hat{E}DIM$, kabtu, and $\hat{E}DIM$, $\hat{E}DI$

I will now consider the other homophones spelled 'rh in the Chinese lexicon. È, "the sides of the mouth," in Cantonese mi, and at Shanghai è, may be compared with è, "the whiskers." In Cantonese, the character bears the meanings "to shut." "to close," = Accadian GI(MI); "the last," cp. GI, gimru, "all," "the whole;" GA, "to finish, end;" and "small, minute" = GI, sahru; all of which identifications confirm our view that etymologically this sound ought not to be regarded as independent, but as closely related to i, being, like that sound, simply a worn form of terms with initial g(m, n). A similar remark applies to \dot{e} , "water flowing" (e.g., tears); and "warm water." The three dialects have i, ji, è. The term is to be compared with (G)A, MÊ, "water;" GU-R, G'A-L, "to flow"; and the other Accadian synonyms already given. $\dot{E}(i,ji,\dot{e})$, "a car for carrying a coffin," recalls GI or GA, nasû, "to carry"; GA-R, MA-R, "a car," "chariot." \dot{E} , ni, "to eat" = Accadian Ü, GÜD, KU, "to eat," GU, lάšu, "to sip." È, "an emphatic particle implying a certainty," in the dialects i, ji^n , \dot{c} , is identical with GIN (= DIM, DÊN), "thus" (= zhan). È, dial. i, jin, è, "near," "at hand," = GA, GIN, $dah\hat{u}$, "to approach. \dot{E} , "to turn the head towards," is, of course, GI(N), GA, salfaru, nashuru, which is so frequent in the sense of a god turning towards his suppliant. È, "woven feather and hair work," recalls the terms already specified denoting clothes, hair, and to weave; while the meaning "coloured hair used on flags" suggests besides GA, "to dye." Lastly, è (i, ji, è), "the blood of a fowl offered in sacrifice," "to cut off or pull out the hairs of a victim's ears (Accadian & cê, uznu, "ear") before killing it, intimating that the officers wished the gods to hear them "-takes us back to GUS, GUD, "blood," Chinese h'üeh, hı'eh (dialectic hüt, hiat, hüih), old sound giet = Accadian GUD. (There is in this instance a perfect correspondence between the Chinese and Accadian, for both possess the M-form also: - Y MUD, damu, "blood," is mich, mít, "blood," "gore.") The meaning "to smear" (to stain with blood) = GA, sarâpu, "to dye or stain."

I confidently appeal to Chinese scholars to say whether a reduction of all the principal sounds and meanings, grouped under

'RH in the Mandarin lexicon, to similar Accadian terms with identical meanings, is not, even when taken alone, enough to establish the closest relation between the two languages. To my own mind, taken in conjunction with all that I have said besides, and all that I have still to say, it establishes the relation of identity.*

Dr. Edkins has assigned ni, n'ip, as the old sounds of the terms grouped under 'RH; and, as we have seen, the same authority considers that the Mandarin j has displaced an earlier n. I have ventured, in view of the Accadian evidence, and from comparison of the Chinese dialects, to suggest that the n-forms are rather variants which coexisted with, not preceded, the j-(g)-forms. It will be convenient at this point to institute a comparison between words with initial n in the two languages.

Both in Accadian and in Chinese we find that initial M and N are to a certain extent interchangeable. MU, "a male," is common to both tongues; while the Accadian has also NU, "a male," "a slave," and the Chinese has nu, "a slave." In Accadian, \(\overline{\text{E}} \) N\(\hat{\text{e}}\) and \(\overline{\text{M}} \) \(\overline{\text{e}} \) n\(\hat{\text{e}}\) and may be compared with the Chinese n\(\text{ing}\), older neng, "power, ability, skill," nu, "great strength," nung, "thick, heavy, strong," nung, "luxuriant" = Accadian NUN, "great." With these compare the related forms MU, rab\(\hat{u}\), "great, strong," meu, "vigorous, strong, luxuriant," ma, "clever, skilled," etc. (p. 76).

In Chinese măng is "a fierce, violent dog"; "strong, cruel, violent"; and ning is "long hair of dogs" (cp. măng, "a long flowing mane"); "fierce," "repulsive;" while another ning is said of "hair in confusion" or "any tangled growth" such as thickets or brambles.† That there is a connexion between such forms is

^{*} Perhaps \check{a} would be a better symbol for the sound than ∂ ; for it appears to be really the same vowel as is heard in $m\check{a}ng$, English u in "purr."

[†] I suggested (p. 74) that the horse, KIŠ, KUR, ma, got these names from his long hair. KIŠ ('Pferdehengst,' according to Jensen) answers to Chinese ki, "a steed of noble blood"; k'i, "a dappled horse"; k'i, "a mane." KIŠ and PIŠ, the two values of MXX. denote another hairy animal, viz., the pig: cp. the 58th radical, ki (Mandarin chi), "a hog turning up his snout"; kia, chia, dialectic ka, kia, "a boar." (So also kia, "a horse in harness"). With Accadian šAG' or šIG', "a swine," cp. the I52nd radical, shi, dialectic ch'i, si, szč, "a hog or pig." The dialectic sIG' = tsung, "a yearling pig." As to PIŠ, cp. fǎn (pún), "a gelded pig"; pa, pò, "a sow"; pin, the name of a hill where many wild hogs were found. With DAM (in DAM-ŠIG'), cp. chu (du), "hog"; t'un, dǎng, "sucking-pig."

self-evident. So we have ma and na (Cantonese) for "an old woman," "a mother"; ma and nao for veined stones, such as the agate, opal, carnelian, onyx, jasper; ma, "to rail at, scold," "gabble" (tsiu ma, "to gabble over one's wine"), and nan, "gabble," nao, "noisy wrangling," nao nao, "babbling, nao, "to scold, to rail"; mao, "bewildered, confused," and nao, "perturbation of intellect," "beclouded," nao, "to disturb, to vex"; mieh and nieh, "to pull out" (hairs); mi and ni, "hidden"; min and nin (now zhan), "a cord"; mu, "small, inferior," nu, "a child," nü, "young," nun, "small, young"; mo, "the pulse," "the blood running in the veins," and no, "to bleed at the nose"; mei, "flowing water," man, "an overflow," mi-mi, "full," mien, "a flood," and ni, "many, abundance of," "rising, overflow" (the same character is also read mi, in the sense of "a vast expanse of water"). Many other instances of this phenomenon might be adduced from the Chinese; and, as I have observed, it is present also in Accadian, where we find NA, NAB, šamû, "heaven," as well as MU, ME, "heaven"; NA, NI, NU, zikaru, "male," "servant," as well as MU, zikaru; NU, şalmu, as well as MI, salmu; NUN, rabû, rubû, as well as MU, rabû, UMUN, rubû; NU-GIG = MU-GIB, "not sick," an epithet of the goddess Ishtar and the Kedēshah; NIN and MULU, bêltu, "lady."

But we have already seen that Accadian possesses G-forms corresponding to these M(N) forms, e.g., GI-š, GI-N, "male," GIG, GÊ, şalmu, \(\begin{aligned}
\begin{aligned}
\ case is thus exactly parallel to that of the Chinese, which presents us with the three forms i, ji, ni, as the pronunciation of one and the same character in three different dialects. In some instances Chinese has preserved the M-form, where our existing documents, so far as yet known, supply only the N-form for the Accadian, and vice versâ. Thus the negative particles in Accadian are NU, NA, NAM; while in Chinese we have the M-forms mé, mei, mieh, mo, mu, wei, wu. In a solitary instance, however, the Accadian exhibits the alternative M-form of the negative, viz., in the epithet of Ishtar just now specified, MU-GIB, the softer equivalent of NU-GIG. Even if we had not this curious instance of correspondence with the prevailing modern use, the variation between the two vocabularies would present no more difficulty than the fact that in Accadian itself both MU and MU were used in the sense of zikaru, "male."

The common negative puh or pu, which appears in the three dialects as $p\check{a}t$, $p\acute{u}t$, peh, presents no difficulty, if we bear in

mind the fact that a Chinese p or b may be a double of m. In Accadian also there are B-forms as well as M-forms corresponding to those with initial G; both BAL and GAL mean "to be strong" $(ab\hat{a}ru)$, and we find ABA = AGA, LA-BAR = LA-GAR, TAG = DIB, and so on. Pieh (= BIT), Cantonese pit, "do not!", is a close relation of puh, and to be accounted for in the same way. This view is borne out by the fact that the Mandarin mo or $m\ell$, which in Cantonese is pronounced mit, in Chifu mu, and at Shanghai meh, is bit in Amoy. Similarly, wu, "without," the Cantonese $m\delta$, Shanghai vu, is in Amoy bu (a very interesting example for the exchange of the labials); and mieh, old sound mit, the Cantonese mit, Fuhchau miek, Shanghai mih, is the Amoy biat. On the other hand, the Mandarin mo, mu, "do not"! old sound mak, is in Cantonese mok, in Amoy moh, and at Shanghai $m\delta k$.

A very remarkable instance of the equivalence of M and B in both languages is the following. We saw (December *Proceedings*, 1889, p. 80) that in Accadian (G)Uš or GIŠ was defined by the Assyrian muttatu, "hair," "whiskers" (a term which is also used for the explanation of (YY=Y Kiši, or Kiš "hair"); and we compared these Accadian terms GI-š, KI-š, with the Chinese i, ji, è, "the whiskers," "hairy," jan, "the whiskers," "the beard" (p. 55). With KIS cp. also chi, dialectic ki, "tufts of hair, a girl's coiffure"; chi, kei, ké, ki, "to do up the hair"; chi, kei, ké, kih, "a Chinese woman's tuft"; chi, "a hair fishing net"; chi, "a camel's hair rug." We also saw that in mao, dialectic $m\dot{o}$, mo (= MA), the general term for "hair," "fur," "wool," "feathers," "down," and in mei, "eyebrows," which in Cantonese, Amoy, and Shanghai, is pronounced mi, bi, mé, respectively, the Chinese possesses corresponding M-forms. The compound term MUN-ŠUB, šartu", "hair," šarat zumri, "hair of the body," seems to contain an Accadian equivalent in MUN. But we also find in Chinese the series pa (pat), "hair on the thigh," "the short hair on the flesh"; $p'\check{a}ng$, "dishevelled hair" = p'ung, hong, pung, in the three dialects; p'ang = dialectic pang, p'eng, pang, "loose hair," etc.; p'ei in p'ei sai, "a bushy beard" (sai = dialectic soi, su sé; cp. $s\ddot{u} = \text{dialectic } s\dot{o}, su, s\ddot{u}, \text{ "the beard," "whiskers of animals";}$ Accadian su, "beard"; sig, or sing, "hair"); p'i, "furs"; piao (the 190th radical, or as it would be called in Accadian "determinative," of characters relating to human hair), "locks hanging down; bushy hair"; = Cantonese piu, Shanghai pio; p'ieh (pit) a classifier of moustaches; pien, "a cue"; pin, "tresses," "curls," "whiskers," fa (pat) "hair," Amoy hwat = gut, Guš, Shanghai fèh = pit; and other terms with initial f (=P, B). The starting point of this development is to be seen in the Accadian $\langle \langle \langle \rangle \rangle$ BA, muttatu^m, "hair," "whiskers" (5 R 37, Col. I, 46).*

Another instance of the equivalence of M and B is seen in the Chinese poh, "a great junk," as compared with m ang, and the Accadian MA, "ship." The old sound of poh was probably BAK or BAG = MAG. Cp. pa, pa, dialectic pa, pb, "a bridge of boats" (= BA); san pan, "a row boat"; pai, "a raft" = Cantonese pai, Amoy pai,

* Another meaning of this Accadian BA, is $mislu^m$, "half" = Chinese pan, "half"; see BAR. If any one still doubts a connexion between the Chinese and Accadian terms for "hair," let him consider the following facts. In Accadian SAG, or SANG, is "the head," and in Chinese sang is "the forehead." In Accadian SANGA, Assyrian shangû, is a priest of some kind, and in Chinese săng is a Buddhist priest (the Sanskrit samgha, sanga, "assembly of priests," is clearly no more than a coincidence of sound). The 59th Chinese determinative /// san, "hair" (dialectic sham, san, sèn), resembles the Accadian ((, BA, "hair"; a sign which also has the value SIN. The Chinese săng (older seng) means "short hair," and the Accadian SIG, or SING, means šartu, "hair." The Chinese sha, dialectic sha, sa, sò, old sound shak, is "long, fine hair;" cp. the Accadian SAG, "head," SU, "beard." I have before compared ZAG, "the head," with shau, dialectic siu, sù, "the head." Further, Giš, "hait," implies a d-form, Diš; which explains the Chinese ti, "hair," dialectic t'ei, t'é, di, and ti, t'i, "to shave." Sha, "feathers," old sound shap (=SHAB), comes very near to Accadian SHUB (in MUNŠUB). The dialectic forms sap, ch'iap, séh, show the hesitation between sh and s common to both Accadian and Chinese, and ring the changes on the vowels in the way that Accadian teaches us to expect (ch'iap is Accadian DUB, "hair," in DUB-SAG, do.; séh, Accadian SIG, "hair"). For SHUB, "hair," we have also the cognate shu, "horse-hair rug," with the dialectic shü, ju, sü, of which the second form recalls (G)Uš or GIš; and shu, dialectic shu, su, su, "garments of camel or yak's hair."

I think it likely that SAG (in DUBSAGGA) also means "hair" (=SIG); so that the two halves of the compound are, as usual, synonymous. So in the much discussed BAN-ŠUR we have BAN = p'an, "platter, basin, deep dish" (old sound ban); p'an, "a tray"; p'ān (ben), "bowl, basin, cup"; + SHUR = shang (older shung), "a cup, goblet, bumper, feast, banquet"; shāng (older shing), "a dish for holding food"; shwan (older shon = shun?), "a cup or small bowl"; shu, "a vessel on its base," etc. TIMMEN, again, appears to mean "records," "documents," if we compare tien, Cantonese tin, "written documents, records," and voăn (old sound, men), Cantonese măn, Amoy biin, Shanghai văng, "literature; a text, despatch, writing." In this case, MêN, "writing," is an M-form answering to Gê, "to write," GIN, "a reed for writing," KIN, "a letter"; and TIM (tiv) is an easy variant of LÜB, TÜB, "tablet": cp. TIM-SAR, "record-writer," a title of the god Nebo.

Shanghai pa (primitive BA); pang, a class-prefix of fleets; pang, "a double boat" (primitive BAG); pang-jan, "a boatman"; p'ang, "a kind of scow;" also fa (pat) "a raft," fu, "a float," and other terms in the f series. Compare, again, Accadian BA, pitû, "to open" (cp. BAL, "to split"), with MA-L, pitû = GAL, pitû; or the Chinese pai, poh, "a hundred—the whole of a class—many—all—everybody"=Cantonese pak, Amoy pék, with Accadian Mê, "many," "a hundred" (probably deflected from MA), and MAG', "great," "much." The Chinese péi, "the back, rear," = $p\acute{u}i$, $p\grave{\partial}\acute{e}$, $p\acute{e}$, as compared with Accadian A-BA, arku, "the back, rear, behind," arkatu, "the rear," "the back," "hereafter," "the future" (dialectic of A-GA), and \rightarrow BAR, arku, arkatu, and this last, again, with EGIR, arku, arkatu (e.g., EGIR-MU, "behind me"; EGIR MA, arkat élippi, "the hinder part of the ship";) supplies another interesting example of the relation between initial G and B, which is parallel to that between G and M. The E of EGIR is dropped in Chinese, as is the E of EDIN, "field," in becoming t'ien = Cantonese t'in, Amoy tian, Shanghai din, and the I or E of , IDIM, or EDIM, šamû, "heaven," in becoming t'ien, the Cantonese t'in, "heaven." In EMEY, GIR, MÊR, iltânu, "the north," as compared with Chinese poh, péi, "the north," of which the sign represents two men standing back to back, we have again an instance of the equivalence G = M = B. Péi, "back," is represented by a character composed of the signs for flesh and north, to indicate that one ought to face the south.

The fluctuation between t and k (primitive D, G) for the final sound is parallel to the Accadian zid = ziG, bad = baG. So in NU-GIG = MU-GIB, šaG = šaB, we have final G alternating with final B; just as k and p (primitive G, B) alternate as final sounds in so many ancient and dialectic forms of Chinese.

I will now give a table of terms in which both Accadian and Chinese present initial N.

ACCADIAN.

CHINESE.

NA, NU, utulu, rabâşu, şalâlu, "to lie down," "to rest;" NAD, ditto; "a bed."

na read no, "to rest," "peaceful"; ni, "to recline, as a sick man."

NA, NI, pronominal suffixes of third person (both singular and plural), NÊ, annû, "this." na, nai, "that," or "those," ni (Cantonese), "this."

NI as an adverbial termination (—"ly" = like = GIN, DIM, "like as").

NA-NAM, annû, kiâm, umma, "this," "in this way," "so."

NAM, annû, "this."

ANA, minû, "who, which"?

NA-MÊ, aiu, "who? which"? MA, minû, "who, which," manman, mala, "whoever," "whatever," "all that"; "any whatever"; quicunque, quoties, quilibet.

NIN, NI, Ψ dialectic AMA, mimma, "whoever, whatever."

NIN-NAM, mimma, manman.

NIN-NAMÊ, *mimma bašû*, "whatever exists."

CHINESE.

năng (neng), an adverbial termination; h'ien-h'ien-năng, "dangerously" (Shanghai).

na, a colloquial final particle used in replies; "so," "certainly."

ni, an affirmative particle.

nan (nam), "now," "at this time"; nan mo, "then" (Shanghai).

na, "which"? "where"? "how"?

mé (mi), mié, Cantonese măt, "who? what? how"? before a negative, "why"? "wherefore"?

mei, "each, every, any."

nai, "how"? "in what way"?
nai ho? "what next"? (ho =
who? which? what? how?)

nan (nam), as an interrogative particle, in the phrase nan tao.ni, an interrogative particle.

ngan, Mandarin an, "how"?
"why"?

ning, "how"? "why"? (cp. NIN, NIG values of Ψ).

(ng)ö, dialectic o, δ, ἐh, "who"? "what"?

NAM-, NAG-, as prefixes of abstract nouns, e.g., NAM-mên, šarrûtu, "royalty"; NAM-TAG annu, arnu, "sin," šêgû, "error"; is also probably of pronominal (demonstrative) origin; and so related to NAM, "this," and NAM, NIN, NIG, "who," "which"; cp. the history of the Greek ôs, and, further, the abstract $\tau \hat{o}$ êίκαιον, "what is just," "justice." NAM-TAG is $\tau \hat{o}$ άμαρτωλόν (cp. with TAG the Chinese t'eh, older t'ek, "error," "to err"; dialectic t'ik, t'ék, tăk). We might also compare the Chinese năng (neng), "power, ability, skill"; "duty, function"; as though NAG-TAGGA meant "sin-craft," and NAM-LUGAL, "king-craft."

NAM, NAG, šimtu, "appointment," "decree," "fate."

piḥatu "governorship."

NAM-TAR, *arâru*, "to curse" (pray against).

NAM (G'U) sinuntu, "a swallow."

NAM, hadû, "to be glad."

NA, abnu, "a stone."

NI-NI, a kind of precious stone.

NIM, zumbu, "a fly or insect"; NIM-LAL,* zumbi dišpi, "flies of honey"; NIM-NI-NUNNA, zumbi himeti, "flies of curds or butter"; vid. infra.

NIM šakû, "high."
NA, êlû, high."
NA šamû, "heaven," "the sky."
(vide ANA, do. Proc., Nov., 1889,
p. 40.)

CHINESE.

nan, "to force a man to do something"; nan, "adversity," "calamity."

na, "to be appointed"; Cantonese nap (NAB = NAM).

ning, "to direct" (= ming).

nan, "to mutter, perform incantations"; tao, "to pray to the gods."

nan (nam), a species of bird;ni-nan, "twittering, as swallows"(ni = "twittering"), cp. nan,"incessant talking."

nao, now read nung, "pleased,"
"glad"; nao, noh, "to play
with."

nao, generic name for veined and coloured stones, like agate, onyx, jasper, etc. (cp. ngaongao, "stony ground").

nu, a kind of flint.

nan, name of an insect; in Cantonese, bites of gnats or fleas;
ni, insects on leaves; aphides.
nan, unfledged locusts; niang,
(=NIM) is a term often applied to insects.

ning, "the top of the head";
ning, "to carry" (Cantonese);
ni, "to carry" (Cantonese);
nien, Cantonese nim, "to pick
up," "to carry"; ni, a fabulous
tree a thousand feet high.

* LAL = $di\delta pu$, "honey." and fabu, "sweet"; GA-LAL£ = δa tulu δa fabu "(a nurse) whose breast (milk) is sweet." Cp. la (lap or lat), "wax," especially of bees.

NAB šamû, "heaven" (or NAP)

NA, zikaru, "male," "man," "slave"; ANA, amêlu, "man." NI, NU do. do. do.

bêltu, êntu, rubâtu, "lady" (nam-nin, bêlûtu, "lordship," implies nin, bêlût, "lord.")

NINNI, NINA, NANA, a goddess (Ishtar), the Great Mother; the Lady par excellence.

♣₩ NI, zumru, "body," "belly."

NI, râmânu, "self"

NI, puluhtu, "fear," "awe," "reverence," "worship."

CHINESE.

nieh, Cantonese nip, "to ascend"; ni, "rising" of waters.*

nan, "the male of the human species." Shanghai $n\ell^n$ (=NIN). nu, "slave"; ni, "slave-girl."

niang (niung), Cantonese néung,
"girl," "young lady"; "female"; "goddess"; ni, "a nun";
ni, "slave-girl"; nü, "woman,"
"girl," "lady," "wife"; niu,
(nu) "a lass."

niang-niang, title of the empress; a goddess (used like 'Our Lady'); nai-nai, "an old lady," "a grandmother" (nai is "a pet word for mother"; "a lady"): Am. nain-nain, Sh. na-na.

na, "a dam," "granny," "mother," "female of animals" (Cantonese).

no (na) "the elegant bearing of a lady."

nei, "the viscera"; nan, "flesh on the belly," "a fat abdomen" (Cantonese).

nei, "near to," "personal"; perhaps ni, "thou," "you," in Kiangsu "we," "us." Cp. nei chih, "my own nephew."

ning, "fierce"; "repellent, like the guardian images in temples"; ngo or ö, "to shudder," "startled," Cantonese ngok, Amoy gok.

^{*} Add ngö, ö, dialectic ngok, gok, "a cliff," "a precipice" (ngak); ngö, "high"; dialectic ngo, ngò, ngu; ngö-ngö, "very high" (of a peak); older nga; ngao, "tall" ao, "high"; ngan, an, "a high cliff"; forms which show the relation of initial N to initial G: cp. GA, našů, "to lift," "carry"; NA, Đlů, "high."

NINA, *âdir*, "fearing," in the proper name Šamaš-âdir.

NI, emûku = (NE, emûku, "depth," "skill," "power," "force."

- | | NUN, rabû, rubû, "great."

NI, šamnu, "fat," "oil."

NI-NUNNA, *himetu*, "curds, butter" (= NI, "fat"+NUN, "milk"). NÊ = GUNNI = *kinûnu*, "oven,"

"furnace," "fire-place" (?).

keep, guard; a watch (of the night), watch and ward" (na-sâru, massartu).

gather together," sich versammeln; napharu, "all together," "the whole."

CHINESE.

nan, "to venerate"; "reverence"; puh nan, "not terrified."

năng, "power"; "skill"; "to
be able"; nu (no=NA), "to
exert the utmost strength."

ni, "many"; nu, $n\dot{o}$, "great strength."

ni, "greasy," "fat," "oily" = Cantonese ni, Amoy ji, Shanghai ni.

neu, old nu, Shanghai nú, "milk." nai, naiⁿ, "milk."

nwan, "heat"; "to warm";
Cantonese nün, Chifu nan,
Shanghai nön; nieh, "to burn
in the fire," as pottery; nieh,
"a little warm," Cantonese nip,
Shanghai nih; (ngao) ao, "a
griddle"; ao, "warm"; ngao,
"to boil," "to parch"; ao, "to
warm or bake in a close
vessel"; an (ngan), "to boil
flesh"; ai (ngat), "warm air."

nan, "the south; it belongs to fire, and is the region of heat and vegetation"; "summer."

yen, "a night-watch or guard";
niu, "to escort or guard," dialectic nau,nù; nang(older nung
=NUN), "to ward off" = nan,
Fuhchau nang, "to push away,
or off."

na n Cantonese "with," "together with," cum; na, "to collect"; năng, "to connect with," "to accompany"; ni,

Cp. NA, ina, adi, "with," and GIN, alâku, "to go"; GIN, sanâķu, "to press together," etc. (p. 53); NIN, "all" (mala), and GIN, "the whole" (gimru.

NIGIN, saḥâru, "to turn round," "go round," "surround" (=lamû); cp. GIN, taru, "to turn," sanâku, "shut in"; GA or GI, kalû, sahâru (pp. 53, 54). Chinese has not only the n-forms opposite, but also k-forms corresponding to -GIN in the term NIGIN; e.g.; küen, kün, kwan, kün, "to roll up as a scroll, to seize, to gather, to whirl about," etc. K'üen, "to encircle, to surround, a ring or circle" (old sound of both, gín).

NIGIN, şâdu, "to hunt."

NIMIN, *kiššatu, "multitude,"
(NI + MIN) = NIGIN, napharu;
cp. Mê, "much"; and perhaps
NI or Nê, "a force," "host."

CHINESE.

"many," "abundance"; ni, "to follow another"; "near"; ni, "to stick to," "associate with"; ni, "to adhere"; nien, "to connect"; "to tread in another's steps"; ning, "gathering," of clouds; nung, "thick, dense," of trees, corn; ning, "plants growing thick and like a jungle"; niang, "mixed, blended"; nan, "to join together."

niao-niao, "curling, like smoke";
niao, "winding," of a way; nao,
"to twist"; nien, "to wring,
twist, roll up, turn the fingers";
nien, "to roll; a stone roller";
nin, now zhăn, "to twist a
thread"; ning, "to twirl, whirl,
turn"; niu, "to twist or turn
with the hand"; ngö (nga), Cantonese ngo, Amoy ngò, Shanghai ngu, "to make a thing
round"; "a ring."

na, "to seize," nien, "to pursue";
nieh, "to track, to pursue a
trail."

ni, "many"; min, "a multitude"; jän min-min, "a mass of people" (GIN + MIN).

^{*} NIMIN is also arbâ, "forty." Is this NI(§), "twenty," MIN, "twice"? Cp. Chinese shih sān, "thirty," (shih, "ten," sān, "three").

length (GI-NINDA, "measuring reed").*

NER, $n\hat{e}ru$, $\nu\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma$, "six hundred."

NAM, bittu, a kind of dress (Arab. جَبُتُ ?)

CHINESE.

nan, "to measure by spanning the fingers"; "a span," "a finger's length."

Ta Nao, a statesman who established the sexagenary cycle in B.C. 2637.

na, Cantonese nap (NAB = NAM)
"padded, quilted"; "priestly
garments"; na, "tattered
clothes."

NI, "body," and NI, "self," are really the same term; for words meaning "body" are common in the sense of "self" (Selb and "self" are said to mean "body"; and the Chinese shān, shím, "the body," also means "one's self" = Accadian su, shi, "body."). This character \(\frac{\text{A}}{\text{H}}\), when pronounced TU, means \$\text{saru}\), "the wind"; and it is a striking fact that we find in Chinese both tu, "the belly," and t'ui, Shanghai dé, "a gust of wind" (cp. Accadian T\(\hat{L}\) = TU). The Accadian \(\frac{\text{E}}{\text{H}}\) LIL (= LI + LI) \$\text{saru}\, zakiku\, "wind," is amply represented by the Chinese liu, "the sighing of the wind," liu-liu, "the motion of the air," li-li\, "a driving blast," lien, "the wind raising ripples on the water," liao-liao, "the continuous blast of a gale," and also "a steady breeze," la, léh (lab, lib), "the sound of the wind," and other cognates. Thus the Assyrian lil\(\hat{u}\), lilitu, Hebrew Lilith, would seem to be distant relatives of the Irish Banshee.

The common Chinese term for "wind, air, breath," is $f \\ ang.$ F is only a very modern modification of p, and the older sound is pong. But this is evidently not the simplest form of the root. To get at that, we must, as usual, compare an entire series of related sounds, supplied by the wealth of the Chinese dictionary. And first we note the phrases $f \\ a-sh \\ angle a$, "a spiritual body," and $f \\ a-l \\ a-l \\ a-l \\ a$, "wind, wheel," i.e., "praying-machine." The old sound is pap (= pa-pa?). Then we have $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ an \\ a$ (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is applied to the wind in phrases like $f \\ a$), "the wind (pan) "to flutter about" (which is

^{*} DA = "wide," "to spread out"? or merely an afformative.

fang (pung), "fragrant"; fé (pi, pu), "to fly," "airy," lien-fé, "the Wind God," and fe-fe, "fragrant," fe, dialectic fi, hui, fi, "the lungs"; fau (pu), dialectic fu, hu, vu (= PU, GU, MU), "a storm," fu-făng, "a great tempest"; fuh, dialectic făt, hút, feh, "a light breeze." PA (PI, PU) is obviously the simplest form of the root, which has ramified thus widely in the Chinese. Cp. under the letter P, pi, "the nose," p'iao, "a spiral gust of wind," p'ei, "flying and wheeling about," of swallows, p'ei, "misty vapour," poh, "mist," piao, "a whirlwind," and other members of the same series. The ultimate root is seen in the Accadian #, PA, which occurs in PA-PA, mêhû, "a storm," and PA-PA, šâru, "the wind"; cp. also PÊ-š, napâšu, "to breathe, blow." Another value of

is sig, which appears in the senses of zikîku (cp. PA PA, zaķîķu), "wind," šaķummu, šaķammatu, "sorrowful," "grief," pašâhu, "to be at rest." Now the Chinese sih, older sik, means "a full breath—a gasp—to breathe—to sigh, pant, sob—to rest, repose." Another sih is "to compassionate"; another yields sih-sih (sig-sig) "to blow gently," of the wind.

When, finally, it is remarked that the Chinese k'i, dialectic hi, k'i, ch'i (= GI, KI, DI), "steam, breath, air," and k'ien, "to pant," in Mandarin, and the Amoy hu, hui, hun, hút, and Cantonese hi, point to original G(K); while the Accadian sign F(V) (LIL, "the wind") actually has also the values $G\hat{E}$, KI, KID; and that the M-form, implied by the Shanghai vu "a storm," and the Mandarin mo, mei, ming, măng, "rain," "mist," is actually extant in the Accadian A(V) IMI, A(V) is a storm, "enough perhaps has been said, though more might be added, in proof that the Accadian and Chinese terms for "wind, breath," etc., are identical.

ADDENDA.—It is clear from the Assyrian texts that BANNUR sometimes means "table," or perhaps rather "feast," "banquet": vid. Phillipps' Cyl., I, 27; II, 34, and Haupt's remarks, Beiträge zur Assyriologie, p. 161. In Chinese, fäng-si is "a plenteous table." This fäng combines the meanings "a large goblet, a full cup, abundant, plenteous"; while si is defined "a mat to sleep or eat on before tables were used, a table, a repast, to spread out, a chair." So yen is (1) "a mat spread out"; (2) "a feast"; and mäng is "a dish filled with food," and "a plentitul table." With NINUNNA, cp. also the Chinese nin-nai-ping, "cheese," lit., "cow's milk cake," which has quite as much right to be regarded as a single word; and nin-pin, "butter," lit. "cow's fat."

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 4th March, 1890, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

- DR. GLADSTONE, F.R.S., &c.—"The Bronze and Copper of Ancient Egypt and Assyria."
- E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S., etc.—"On the Winged Figures of the Assyrian and other ancient Monuments."



THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847-1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866–1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par
H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen
of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
2nd series, 1869.
Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1887.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy. 2nd edition.
Schroeder, Die Phönizische Sprache.
HAUPT, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
BURKHARDT, Eastern Travels.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.
Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
E. GAYET, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Museé de Louvre.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
SARZEC, Découvertes en Chaldée.
LEFÈBURE, Les Hypogées Royaux de Thebes.
SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
LEPSIUS, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend.
D. G. Lyon, An Assyrian Manual.
A. AMIAUD AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes
et Assyriennes.
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Society of Biblical Archæology.

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OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

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VOL. XII. TWENTIETH SESSION.

Fifth Meeting, March 4th, 1890.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

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OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

Fifth Meeting, 4th March, 1890.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President.

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Author, J. Ménant:—Le Cylindre de Urkam, au Musée Britannique. 8vo. 1889.

Revue Archéologique, 1889.

From the Baron de Cosson:—Congrès Provincial des Orientalistes français. Compte-rendu de la Session inaugurale. Levallois. 1874. 8vo. Paris. 1885.

From the Baron de Cosson:—Indication succincte des Monuments égyptiens du Musée de Florence, par le conservateur, A. M. Migliarini. 8vo. Florence. 1859.

From the Author, Rev. S. Kinns, Ph.D.:—Moses and Geology, or the Harmony of the Bible with Science. 8vo. London, 1889.

From the Author, Dr. C. F. Lehmann:—Ueber das babylonische metrische system und dessen Verbreitung.

Verhandl. der Physikal. Gesellsch. zu Berlin. 22 Nov., 1889. Jahrg. 8, Nr. 15.

[No. xc.]

From the Author, Dr. C. F. Lehmann:—Das Verhältniss des ägyptischen metrischen Systems zum babylonischen.

Aus den Verhandl. der Berliner Anthropol. Gesellsch. 19 Oct., 1889.

From the Author, Napthali Herz Imber:—Topics of to-day in the Talmud. London. 1890.

Reprinted from the Jewish Standard.

Purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Keilinschrifte Bibliotek. Sammlung von Assyrischen und Babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Ubersetzung herausgegeben von Eberhard Schrader. Band I, 1889. Band II, 1890. 8vo. Berlin.

The following Candidates were elected Members of the Society, having been nominated on 4th February, 1890:—

Rev. Frederick H. J. McCormick, F.S.A. Scot., Whitehaven, . Cumberland.

Rev. J. C. Bradley, B.A., Queen's Coll., Oxford, Rector of Sutton-under-Brails.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:-

The Lancashire College, Whalley Range, Manchester.

The following Candidate was nominated for election at the next Meeting on 6th May, 1890:—

Edward Oxenford Preston, West Lodge, Cookham, Berks.



A paper was read by Dr. J. Hall Gladstone, F.R.S., on "The Bronze and Copper of Ancient Egypt and Assyria."

Remarks were added by Rev. C. J. Ball, Rev. A. Löwy, Mr. J. Offord, Prof. Roberts-Austen, Thomas Christy, Dr. Kinns, Prof. Gladstone, and the President.

A paper was read by E. B. Tylor, LL.D., F.R.S., on "The Winged Figures of the Assyrian and other Ancient Monuments," which will be printed with illustrations in a future number of the Proceedings.

Remarks were added by Rev. A Löwy, Rev. J. Marshall, Mr. J. Offord, and Dr. Kinns.

ON COPPER AND BRONZE OF ANCIENT EGYPT AND ASSYRIA.

By J. H. GLADSTONE, Ph.D., F.R.S.

Mr. Flinders Petrie has kindly permitted me to examine the Copper and Bronze tools which he was fortunate enough to find during his excavations in Egypt last winter. He had holes drilled in a number of these tools, and gave me the metal which was thus obtained from the interior of them. The specimens, therefore, were in a fairly fine state of division, but they contained small quantities of workshop dirt and grease, which had to be removed by washing in ether. Some of the specimens also, if not all, are oxidized superficially more or less: in one case, that of the handle of the mirror from Kahun, the fine powder has thus become dark in colour; and when the specimen was heated in a stream of hydrogen gas it yielded water equivalent to 2.9 per cent. of oxygen. Most probably the whole of the oxygen was not obtained by this method; and whether any part of this 2.9 per cent. was in the original alloy it is impossible to say.

Tools of the Twelfth Dynasty.

The very interesting find of tools at Kahun consisted of a variety of implements, which were in a remarkably good state of preservation. Of these I have examined a large hatchet found in the basket, a round chisel, the handle of a mirror, and a knife.

The Hatchet.—The borings from this, when submitted to analysis, proved to be copper mixed with a little of those substances which usually accompany it in its ores, especially arsenic. The most interesting point to determine was the presence or absence of tin, but unfortunately it is one of the most difficult problems in chemical analysis to separate properly tin, arsenic, and antimony; and in this case it was rendered all the more difficult by the small amount of material at our disposal, and the small percentage of these metals in that material. The analysis which my assistant, Mr. Hibbert, who

227 S

performed most of the actual work, has the greatest confidence in, is as follows:—

Copper	•••		93.56
Arsenic	• • •		3.00
Tin	• • •		0.2
Antimony	• • •	•••	0.19
Iron	• • •		0'21
			98.05

The amount of tin is rather doubtful, though there is not much doubt that a very small quantity of it is present in the hatchet.

The Round Chisel.—The borings from this were nearly free from arsenic, but there was no doubt about their containing some tin. The reactions of it were unmistakeable. The following proportions were obtained:—

The deficiency in this and the other analysis may well be due to a little oxide; but some portions of the metal seemed to contain a little sulphide, while others did not.

The Mirror Handle.—The borings from this, excluding the 2.9 per cent. of oxygen already referred to, gave approximately 95 per cent. of copper, and a decided amount of tin and arsenic, with a little iron.

The Knife.—The borings from this were of much the same composition, the tin being comparable in amount with that found in the large hatchet.

In none of these specimens was any zinc detected. It is evident therefore that these earlier alloys have no right to be called brass; and probably they should be designated rather as imperfectly purified copper, than as bronze. It is difficult to imagine that such small quantities of tin were purposely added; it is, however, easy to suppose that the ancient Egyptians found certain ores of copper more suited for their purpose than others.

As phosphorus is known to have the effect of hardening copper, and is supposed to have been used in ancient times for that purpose, it was sought for carefully in the material from the round chisel, but no trace of it was detected.

Before leaving these most ancient tools, it may be interesting to compare the first analysis given above with one made by Dr. Percy of a supposed knife which was said to be found below a statue of Rameses II, and thirteen feet from the surface, viz.:—

Copp	er	• • • •		97'12
Arser	nic			2.59
Tin				0.24
Iron	• • •	• • •		0.43
			_	
			1	00.08

The date of the knife was probably long anterior to that of the statue.

The metal of these tools is said to be rather soft, and at first sight it would appear improbable that such small impurities could do much for hardening copper, and making it available for cutting purposes; but Professor Roberts-Austen, whom I asked about the matter, writes, "without question either two per cent. of tin or three per cent. of arsenic would have great influence in hardening copper, and even such small quantities as two-tenths per cent. of either element would have a very sensible effect." He thinks it probable that the tools were hardened by hammering, and adds that "they may have been originally much harder than they appear to be now, as alloys of copper undergo molecular change by time and exposure." As these tools are supposed to date back to about 2500 B.C., a period when the majority of tools were still made of flint, there is ample time for any change that might occur.

Tools of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Mr. Petrie kindly gave me similar borings of some of the tools which he had found at Gurob, and which belong to the eighteenth dynasty, about 1200 B.C. The following analyses were obtained:—

		Small :	hatchet.	Large hatchet.
Copper	• • •	89	9'59	90.09
Tin		(6.67	7.29
Arsenic		(0.02	0.22
Antimony		t	race	trace
Iron			0.54	_
		ç	7.75	97.60
		229		

Traces of sulphur were also found in the large hatchet, but no phosphorus.

The main interest of these analyses consists in the much larger amount of tin. There can be no doubt that by this time the value of an admixture of tin was recognized, and these tools may fairly be described as bronze.

Bronze Figures.

Mr. Joseph Offord, jun., to whom I owe the inception of this work, some time ago placed at my disposal a bronze figure of Osiris which was rapidly falling to pieces in his cabinet of Egyptian Antiquities. I found that it consisted of a solid metallic statuette covered with a light green coating that disintegrated very easily. The metallic portion was like copper in colour, but as analysed by my assistant, Mr. T. A. Rose, it gave:—

Copper	87°r
Tin, with silica	6.3
Lead	4.4
Iron and alumina	traces
	97.8

The outside crust was evidently far from homogeneous. It was a mixture of hydrated oxides with a little carbonate, and, what is more remarkable, a large amount of chlorides and oxychlorides. In one portion analysed the amount of chlorine was as much as 17.7 per cent.: the lead was proportionally greater in this crust than in the alloy itself, about 6 per cent., which means about 9 or 10 per cent. of the metallic constituents.

I am informed by Mr. Petrie that ancient bronzes which have laid long in the soil of Egypt are very apt to be corroded by the chloride of sodium or ammonium present in the soil. The materials may then set up a continuous electro-chemical action, more and more of the metal being converted ultimately into the oxide, while the liberated chlorine attacks fresh portions of the metal. In the case of Mr. Offord's statuette, the action seems to have been peculiarly energetic.

Mr. Offord also gave me a head of Pasht which was disintegrating, but more slowly. It was found to be copper mixed with iron and a little lead, with mere traces of tin, arsenic and alumina. It also contained a small amount of chloride.

A broken image of Horus in my own collection was covered with a hard, irregular coating of greenish matter, something like the preceding; but it was not suffering actual disintegration. It was found to consist of copper, with a little iron and alumina, and only traces of lead. There was no chlorine in the outer crust.

A small ordinary image of Osiris which I had by me, and which showed no signs of active deterioration, was also examined. It consisted of copper and a little tin; but there was no lead or earthy matter.

Through the kindness of Mr. Rylands I also received two small pieces of bronze, much corroded, from the collection of Mr. F. G. Hilton Price. They came from Bubastis. As this town was destroyed B.C. 352, they must be of an earlier date than that, and probably are some centuries earlier. The piece of an image contained copper, a fair amount of lead, a little tin, and traces of iron and alumina. The small bar consisted of copper, with a little tin, and traces of iron and alumina, but only a very minute trace of lead.

These observations seem to suggest that the copper alloys that contain lead are more liable to corrosion than the others.

ASSYRIAN BRONZE.

Through the kindness of Mr. Rylands I have also had the opportunity of examining the bronze of the gates of the palace of Shalmaneser II, B.C. 859-825, found buried at Balawat. The authorities at the British Museum could only spare two small fragments: one of a metallic band, the other of one of the bolts which attached it to the wooden framework of the door. The metallic band was corroded almost entirely through, presenting an appearance of dark red and of white streaks, as though the components had separated from one another. The dark red portion owed its colour to the presence of a mixture of metallic copper, sub-oxide of copper, and black oxide. The alloy consisted of copper and tin with small quantities of arsenic, iron, and alumina. These were for the most part in the state of oxide, but there was also a notable quantity of chloride present. The sample analysed gave the following percentages of the two principal metals:—

Copper 73'9
Tin 9'04

which would indicate 11 per cent, of tin if these two metals constituted the whole of the original alloy.

The bolt was also much corroded, and covered with a light green crystallisation. When this was scraped off the interior was found also to consist of copper and tin, with small quantities of iron and arsenic. Chlorine was also present in the crust. The proportions of the two first in the scraped sample were:—

Copper 70.7 Tin 7.15

or a little more than 9 per cent. of tin in the original bronze. These proportions resemble those usually found in ancient bronze, and those of modern gunmetal.

ANCIENT ORES.

It is well known that the ancient Egyptians had large turquoise and copper mines in the Sinaitic peninsula. Those at Wadi Nasb appear from the inscriptions to have been worked before the XIIth dynasty, and practically ceased to be worked after the reign of Thothmes III of the XVIIIth dynasty. I was anxious to see whether there were any indications of tinstone in the ores from these mines, and through the kindness of the Rev. Prof. Bonney I have been enabled to examine some small specimens of mineral and two pieces of ancient slag from the workings at Wadi Nasb, Igneh (Magharah), and Ragaita, but I have not succeeded in finding any indications of tin in them.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS.

The interest of these observations appears to me twofold—Biblical and archæological.

In the older books of the Bible, the name of a metal occurs which is generally translated "brass." This word at the time of King James' translation was applied indiscriminately to the various alloys of copper; the word bronze, of Italian origin, having been only recently applied to the compounds of which copper and tin are the principal elements. The furniture and ornaments of the tabernacle, and other things mentioned in the book of Exodus, were made by artificers who had learnt the art of bronze manufacture in Egypt under the XVIIIth dynasty. Bronze, indeed, seems to have been used at that period by the Israelites to the total exclusion of iron. The two metals are both spoken of in the later history, though bronze was used for most purposes for which iron was afterwards employed: for instance, the arms and armour of Goliath and Saul

(r Sam. xvii, 5, 6, 38); fetters were made of it (Judges xvi, 21, etc.); as also were the bars of the cities of Argob (r Kings, iv, 13). More remarkable still is the allusion to bows of bronze in the book of Job (Job xx, 24) and the song of David (2 Sam. xxii, 35). So unsuited for this purpose did brass appear, that the translators of the authorized version have rendered it a "bow of steel" in both cases. The revised version gives the more correct rendering: "He teacheth my hands to war, so that mine arms do bend a bow of brass." The "doors of brass," at Babylon, referred to in Isaiah xlv, 2, were probably similar in composition to that given above for those of Balawat, which were contemporary with the Israelitish King Jehu.

The analyses of the metallic implements of the XIIth dynasty strongly confirm the view held by many archæologists, that in the latter part of the stone age there was what has been termed a prebronze age in which copper ores were smelted and the metal used for implements. It could scarcely have been otherwise. The metal thus obtained was harder than refined copper would have been on account of the impurities which were left in it. It seems highly probable that such ores as those that produced the copper found at Kahun would be preferred, and that gradually the workers in metal would find out why they made better tools, and a demand would arise for the ores of tin. Of course as tin was a rare and costly material, they could afford to add it to the copper only in small quantities, as in the bronzes of the XVIIIth dynasty which Mr. Petrie found at Gorub. When, however, tin was imported in larger quantities it could be used more freely.

We find indications of this process in other places. Berthelot* examined the "sceptre" of Pepi I, of the VIth dynasty, and found it to consist of copper, without any tin or zinc. He also gives an analysis of a small votive figure found at Tello, and belonging to about the most ancient period of Mesopotamian history, which was nearly pure copper without any tin whatever. He found 9 per cent. of tin in an Egyptian mirror of the XVIIth or XVIIIth dynasty, and 10 per cent. in a votive tablet from the palace at Sargon, about B.C. 706.

The ancient metallic tools described by Dr. Schliemann in his work entitled "Ilios," tell the same tale. In the older buried city,

^{*} Annales de Chimie et Physique. Série 6, XII, p. 129: and Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, C. R., 1887, p. 472.

specimens of copper pins or nails analysed by Roberts-Austen gave in one instance no tin, and in another 0.22 per cent. But in the third city at Hissarlik, battle axes and other implements found in the "treasure" gave a larger amount of tin; one examined by Damour gave 3.84 per cent., another by Lyons, 8.64 per cent., while two others by Roberts-Austen yielded respectively 4.39 and 5.7 per cent. Zinc was entirely absent.

All these observations indicate how the stone implements were gradually replaced by those of copper, and how, by increasing the amount of tin, this was changed into the more valuable alloy of bronze.*

* For the composition of ancient bronzes occurring in different countries, and a summary of what was known upon the subject up to 1883, see Professor E. Reyer's "Die Kupferlegirungen, ihre Darstellung und Verwendung bei den Völkern des Alterthums," Archiv für Anthropologie, vol. xiv, p. 357.



SUR LE SENS DES MOTS 👸 NOUIT ET 🖟 🗂 HÂIT.

PAR G. MASPERO.

Les mots Nouit et AAIT entrent tous les deux dans la composition de la formule par laquelle les scribes expliquent les scènes où l'on voit le mort recevant le tribut de ses domaines funéraires. La version la plus ordinaire est maa nouzit-hir tiou, paoutou arpiou, torpou, rôou, eheou, annit m nouitou-f nou pir-zotou nti to-mihi rîsi, "voir l'hommage en pains, gateaux, vins, oies, bœufs, apporté de ses nourrou du pays du Nord et du Midi"3 Anit nouzit-hir tiou, paoutou, arpiou an NOUITOU pir-zotou, "apport de l'hommage en pains, gateaux, vins, par les nourrou de la maison éternelle," 3 etc. On trouve parfois la variante Skhopit nouzit-hir ronpitiou nibou annit m HAITOU-f NOUITOU-f nti to-mihi risi, "Défilé de l'hommage de tous les produits de l'année, apporté de ses HÂITOU et de ses NOUITOU du nord et du midi," 4 où le mot hâit est inséré à côté du mot 💆 Nouit. On rencontre même quelquefois la variante HAITOU-f nti rîsi, où a été entièrement supprimé. 5 Si on étudie les noms des personnages qui s'avancent processionnellement derrière ces titres, on verra que le mot hait y figure assez souvent, même quand la formule du début n'annonce pas de la натои

¹ Mariette, Mustabas, p. 317.

² Mariette, Mastabas, p. 275.

³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 353.

⁴ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 380; cfr. Lepsius, Denkm., II, bl. 64, 102 a.

⁵ Lepsius, Denkm., II, bl. 104 b.

1°. On Nouir sert à désigner un domaine rural d'étendue plus ou moins considérable, portant ou ne portant pas de village ou de maison d'habitation. Ce domaine a un nom, par lequel il était inscrit sur les monuments et dans les écritures, c'est-à-dire sur les registres du cadastre et de l'impôt. Il était donc une personne réelle, formant un corps complet en soi, et c'est pour cela qu'on le représente sous la forme d'un homme ou d'une femme, apportant des produits agricoles et des offrandes. Il ne se fondait pas avec un domaine voisin, quand même il appartenait au même propriétaire, mais la personnalité de chacun des domaines persistait. Un homme qui réunissait, par héritage ou par acquisition, vingt de ces domaines n'en faisait pas un domaine unique; il était le maître de vingt parcelles de terre distinctes, dont chacune conservait son nom, ses limites et sa vie propre. Les domaines étaient séparés par des stèles portant le nom du propriétaire, et aussi la date de l'érection de la stèle.2 Le propriétaire était appelé | A higou nouit, avec le même titre | Higou qui sert à marquer la propriété du Pharaon ou du grand seigneur féodal sur l'Égypte entière ou sur une partie du territoire égyptien.3

¹ Lepsius, Denkm., II, bl. 76, et 80.

² Cfr. L'Inscription de Béni-Hassan, ll. 36-53, 131-156; j'ai eu l'occasion de citer deux de ces stèles (Mariette, Monuments Divers, Texte, p. 30).

³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 145, 246. Le chef du nome d'Ounou est appelé, dans l'Ancien Empire Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 112, b, c, sous le premier empire thébain Lepsius, Denkm., Lepsius, Denkm., Denkm.,

Le mot employé nous montre qu'il s'agit bien d'une propriété réelle, et non d'une location ou d'une condition analogue à celle du colonat : le maître d'un domaine en était l' H100U, de la même manière que le Pharaon était hiQou des deux terres d'Égypte. Nous savons en effet que le Pharaon, dans ses courses le long du Nil, distribuait à ses fidèles des terres prises parmi les terres libres de son domaine, et qui devaient leur servir à les nourrir eux et leurs familles : ils devenaient | niqou nouit, comme le montre l'inscription de Beni-Hassan, et ils devaient au Pharaon, outre l'impôt en nature, le service militaire contre ses ennemis. Les grands seigneurs faisaient de leurs terres des libéralités analogues à celles que faisait le Pharaon: si certains de leurs domaines étaient administrés directement par eux et cultivés par leurs propres esclaves, d'autres étaient aux mains de petits tenanciers libres, qui étaient eux aussi hiqou nouit, et que je n'ose appeler colons de peur d'amener une confusion entre les données de la loi romaine et la constitution politique de l'Égypte. Ces Hiqou nouit payaient naturellement des redevances en nature, réglées selon l'étendue de leur domaine. Une paroi du tombeau de Sabou nous les montre amenés devant les scribes dans les registres on voit défiler des bœufs, des gazelles, des volailles

de diverses espèces, avec des chiffres indiquant le total des têtes de bétail pour l'ensemble des domaines.¹ Leurs comptes sont rendus sous la menace et parfois sous l'application du bâton,² mais il ne faudrait pas que la vue du traitement qu'on leur inflige nous inspirât le moindre doute sur leur condition. Le bâton était en Égypte un moyen de gouvernement qu'on maniait du haut en bas de l'échelle hiérarchique, et un grand seigneur était exposé à recevoir la bastonnade comme un simple esclave. Il faut même croire qu'on y échappait rarement, car un des fonctionnairs enterrés à Saqqarah nous dit en manière de panégyrique

La plus grande partie des renseignements que nous possédons jusqu'à présent sur les Nouitou nous sont fournis par les représentations funéraires. Mais ainsi que j'ai déjà eu l'occasion de le remarquer,4 les coutumes de la vie mortuaire ne sont que la transposition des coutumes de notre vie, et ce qui est vrai des unes est vrai également des autres : nous pouvons nous servir des tableaux que nous voyons dans les tombeaux en toute sécurité pour en déduire ce qui se passait dans le monde des vivants. L'examen des noms domaniaux est des plus instructifs. 5 On peut les diviser en deux catégories: 1° ceux qui contiennent le nom d'une des denrées qu'on donnait aux morts, et qui étaient énumérées tout au long dans la table d'offrandes; 2° ceux qui renferment un élément historique ou agricole, étranger à la table d'offrandes. La première catégorie forme une série bien déterminée qu'on rencontre plus ou moins complète dans tous les tombeaux où la procession des domaines est représentée. L'idéal eût été de prendre tous les noms de toutes les provisions énoncées dans la table, et de former avec chacun d'eux le nom d'un

¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 149-46; cfr. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, 42, a, b, 63-64 a. D'après l'analogie des autres scènes les personnages innommés qui défilent dans Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 15 b, 51, appartiennent à la classe des *hiqou nouit*.

² Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 9, où sont des (de ce genre. Les (tenanciers libres placés devant les scribes sont introduits chacun par son nom.

³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 417.

⁴ Maspero, Les Hypogées royaux de Thèbes, p. 32 sqq.

La formation générale en a été indiquée par Erman, Aegypten, p. 146 sqq.

domaine particulier, mais cet idéal n'a jamais été atteint, et les tombeaux qui nous fournissent les listes de domaines les plus longues, sont encore loin d'arriver au total qu'on obtiendrait avec la table d'offrandes. Voici, autant que j'ai pu les recueillir ceux de noms de domaine ainsi formés qu'on rencontre: Shâït, le gâteau conique le pair, le gâteau en torme de boule avec impression des doigts du pâtissier, le gâteau en torme de boule avec impression des doigts du pâtissier, le pokha, autre espèce de grains, le pokha, autre espèce de grains, le pokha, autre espèces de grains, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le pokha, autre espèces de grains, le pokha, autre espèces de grains, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le pokha, autre espèces de grains, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le pokha, autre espèces de grains, le proposition des la bière, le proposition du pain, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le pâticul du pain, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le proposition des doigts du pâtissier, le proposition des

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 185; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46.

² Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 185, 353.

³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 185. ⁴ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 185.

⁵ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 185, 186, 328.

⁶ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 185.

⁷ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 186, 196, 324, 398; Lepsius, Denkm., II, 46, 50 a, 47; le domaine mutilé de Mariette, Mastabas, p. 185, me paraît devoir se rétablir $\Delta \triangle \otimes \cdot$

⁸ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 196; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46, 47.

⁹ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 185, 325; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46, 47, 50 a.

¹⁰ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 185; Lepsins, Denkm. II, pl. 46.

¹¹ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 306, 353, 398; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 47, 61.

¹² Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 196, 276, 325, 353.

¹³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 276, 324.

¹⁴ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 181, 186, 196, 276, 306, 324, 353, 398; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 47, 50 *a*, 61.

¹⁵ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 181, 324.

fruit ou de graine, ASHDOU, 1 l'arbre ashdou et son fruit, ZOSIRIT,² le KOUMI, le lait fermenté et alcoolisé, 🧻 😂 SNOUTIR³ l'encens, l'encens, l'encens, l'encens, la viande pour le tombeau, l'encens, la viande pour le tombeau, l'encens, le feu, l'encens, l'encens, le feu, l'encens, l'encens, le feu, l'encens, le feu, l'encens, le feu, l'encens, le feu, l'encens, l'e Égyptiens certains des domaines étaient destinés à fournir au mort la denrée dont ils portaient le nom : c'est un usage qu'on retrouve ailleurs qu'en Égypte dans le monde antique, et qui s'explique fort bien dans des pays et dans des temps où, la monnaie étant encore inconnue, les revenus des particuliers et les impôts d'état étaient payés en nature. Le domaine appelé les figues → \ () ⊗ товои, pouvait donc fournir les figues du mort quoi qu'il produisît d'ailleurs; le revenu des terres dont il se composait servait à assurer au mort son approvisionnement de figues. Cela dit, on peut se demander s'il portait réellement, dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie, ce nom de товои qui indique sa destination? La réponse ne me paraît pas douteuse, car les monuments se chargent de la faire pour nous. L'accord entre le nom du domaine et la matière qu'il est chargé de fournir n'est pas aussi constant qu'on serait tenté de le croire. Ainsi le domaine & le poisson latus de Khouit-hotpou, apporte non pas du poisson, mais de la bière \(\frac{8}{2} \subseteq \subseteq \). Certains des noms étaient donc réels, d'autres ne l'étaient point, et n'avaient d'autre objet que de répondre à une des prescriptions du Rituel Funéraire égyptien. Réels ou fictifs, ils avaient pour le mort un intérêt serieux. J'ai déjà eu souvent l'occasion de montrer que la représentation d'un objet ou d'une scène suffisait pour valoir au propriétaire d'un tombeau la possession de cet objet dans l'autre monde ou le bénéfice de l'action

¹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 324, 353, 398, peut-être à la p. 185 \(\lambda \quad \text{\infty} \text{\infty}.

² Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 185, 325.

³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 353. ⁴ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 28.

⁵ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 186; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46, 61.

⁶ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46. 7 Mariette, les Mastabas, p. 70.

figurée sur la scène. La peinture d'une procession de domaines, apportant à l'image d'un mort les divers produits nécessaires à la vie, donnait éternellement au double de ce mort la jouissance réelle de chacun des produits représentés. Le domaine avait beau être fictif, du moment qu'on mettait sur le mur un personnage le représentant, et qu'on écrivait un nom à côté de ce personnage, le mort recevait perpétuellement l'espèce particulière de fruit, de graine ou de légume que ce domaine était censé lui devoir, et lui apporter comme redevance. Comme c'était après tout un procédé des moins couteux pour les survivants, on ne se faisait pas faute d'y recourir libéralement : autant on avait de place, autant on pouvait figurer de ces domaines fictifs.

Les noms de la seconde catégorie représentent toujours ou prétendent représenter quelque chose ayant une existence réelle. Une bonne moitié d'entre eux est empruntée à la nature égyptienne, comme beaucoup de nos noms de villages le sont à notre nature :

NOUHIT,¹ le sycomore, IÂROU,² les palmes, KANOU,³ la treille, SOSHSHNI,⁴ le vignoble SOSHSHNI,⁴ le lotus

BENZOUITOU, BENZOUIT,⁴ le vignoble SOSHSHNI,⁴ le lotus

ANIT,⁴ le poisson latus, MIMOU,⁴ l'hyène, SOSHSHNI,⁴ le lotus

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 186, 276, 325; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46, 47.

² Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 28.

³ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 61. To NOUKA, dans une inscription du tombeau d'Amten (Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 7, b, l. 3).

⁴ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 181, 186. BENZOUIT, au pluriel BENZOUITOU, est un mot nouveau.

⁵ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46.

⁶ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 47.

⁷ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 181.

⁸ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 153, 186, 196, 300, 306; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 28, 46, 47.

⁹ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 306, 474.

HAZOURIT¹ l'ichneumon, le rat de pharaon, le saules, la saussaie. D'autres sont empruntés aux accidents divers du terrain ou à des constructions, shit,³ le bassin, l'étang, Ro-shonou, 4 la bouche de l'écluse, shît-Rîsit et shît-Mihtit,⁵ le lac du Sud et le lac du Nord, sokhit-Amentit et sokhit éle pré de l'Occident et le pré de l'Orient, sokhit Anou,¹ la prairie des fleurs Ânou, sokhit Ânou,⁵ l'île verte (?), sait nofir,º l'île du bon, aït âzdou,⁵ l'île verte (?), sait nofir,º l'île du bon, sokhit añt-sovkou, l'île du crocodile ou du dieu Sovkou, sait rokhitou,¹¹ l'île des blanchisseurs (?), sait sokhit,¹³

¹ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 28. a été traduit par cheval, malgré son déterminatif, et M. Lefébure a conclu de cette interprétation que le cheval était connu en Égypte dès l'Ancien Empire. C'est une forme dialectale du mot KHATOUR, CULLONG, Où M. Lefébure reconnaît avec grand raison l'ichneumon: le déterminatif représente l'animal lui même. On trouve HAZOURIT, HATOUR, et avec chûte de finale , dans les noms propres de l'ancien empire : c'est un nouvel exemple à joindre à ceux que nous avons déjà du passage de à , et a.

² Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 23.

³ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 196, 276, 306, 353, 398, 474; Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 28, 46, 47.

⁴ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 181, 481, 484.

⁵ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 317.

⁶ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 300.

⁷ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 481, 484.

⁸ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 474.

⁹ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 300.

¹⁰ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 181.

¹¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 300.

¹² Mariette, Mastabas, p. 474; Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 28, 32, où le mot est mutilé.

¹³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 317.

ASIT, le grenier voûté, le silo, SHIT OUÂHOUOU, le lac des pêcheurs, SHA SMIRITOU,2 le verger des amies. Le caractère tout local que présentent ces noms nous montre qu'on a ici des domaines réels. Ils faisaient partie des propriétés du mort, et auraient droit à figurer tous sur la carte de l'Égypte, si des renseignements certains nous permettaient d'y retrouver les parcelles de terrain auxquelles ces noms divers étaient attachés. Je crois bien que la plupart d'entre eux étaient assez petits : si riches qu'on suppose leurs maîtres, ils avaient à côté d'eux beaucoup d'autres personnages de rang et de fortune à peu près égale, dont les tombes ou sont détruites ou sont encore inconnues, et qui possédaient chacun une certaine quantité de territoire. Or la superficie du nome Memphite, où tous ces gens avaient leurs propriétés, n'est pas telle qu'on puisse y trouver place pour quelques centaines de grands domaines: il faut donc se résoudre à admettre que si quelques uns de ces biens-fonds étaient considèrables, beaucoup étaient de dimensions restreintes.

Les noms de la seconde série dont je n'ai pas encore parlé sont formés avec des cartouches de pharaons, et sont les plus intéressants de tous. Le cartouche qu'ils contiennent est en effet une date qui nous apprend le moment où chacun d'eux fut constitué: il ne prouve pas nécessairement que le Pharaon donna à un particulier le terrain nommé d'après lui, mais qu'il était encore sur le trône quand le domaine reçut son titre. Or cette observation a une importance capitale pour nous prouver que le domaine, une fois établi, conservait longtemps sa personnalité: si en effet nous trouvons sous un roi de la VIe dynastie des domaines où se rencontrent les cartouches des rois de la Ve et de la IVe, il faut bien admettre qu'ils avaient conservé leur nom depuis le moment où les rois qui portaient ces cartouches avaient cessé de régner. Ainsi Phtahhotpou, qui vivait sous l'avant-dernier roi Assi de la Ve dynastie, a des domaines nommés d'après

DIDIFRÎ de la IVe dynastie () OUSIRKAF (OU)

Sahourî (LILI) Qaqai (MILI) Haraqaou (I = I)

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 353.

² Mariette, Mastabas, p. 181.

de la Ve;1 ces rois couvrent un espace de plus de deux siècles

pendant lesquels le domaine () | *) | | @ l'étoile Sahoud, de Didifrî n'avait cessé de porter le nom de l'obscur pharaon Didifrî. Les éléments qui entrent dans la composition des noms de cette espèce ne sont pas très variés. Dans quelques uns c'est un dieu ou une déesse qu'on dit aimer le roi, vivifier le roi, ou protéger sa HIKA MIRI ÂNKH ASSI, () ↑ ⊗ | 2 Safkhit-âboui miri ônkh Haraqaou | Y⊗ Safkhit âboui sânkh Assi³ (🖟 (U 💃 HARAQAOU MATI MIRI.4 Dans d'autres, le nom du roi est accompagné d'un terme qui exprime une qualité du roi ou du terrain qui porte le nom du roi: Sahourî bâhit, la richesse de Sahourî Assi Bâhit, (Assi Man Habi, Assi a des fêtes durables, (A = A) ASSI-ÂA-NOFIR, Assi est très bon 5 (Assi Nofir Habi, Assi a de bons poissons de fête 6 (Khafrî oir Kaou, Khafrî est riche (ou grand) en doubles 7 (💿 🖔 🚡) 🕄 🦍 🚳 Khoufoui ouakhou 8 (O 2 Khâfrî ouakhou 9 ² Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 74 d. 1 Mariette, Mastabas, p. 353. 3 Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 76 a et b. 4 Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 80: 7 MATI est ici le nom du dieu lion.

⁵ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 80; cfr. Mariette, Mastabas, p. 306.

⁶ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 76 a, b.

⁷ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 12. 8 Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 23.

⁹ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 42; à la planche 74 d, se trouve un domaine

© © © © où le cartouche est soit IIARAQAOU, soit KAKAI;
peut-être doit-on lire dans ces noms OUAKHOU KHOUFOUI, OUAKHOU KHÂFRÎ,
le pré de Khonfoui, le pré de Khâfrî.

le roi Khoufoui, le roi Khafrî verdoie, (o j 🗢 📋) 👸 🛞 BAÏOU, le roi Nofirirkerî,2 le roi Kaki, ont des âmes pleines de volonté, ≪ Khoufoui-âa-zofaou,³ Khoufoui a beaucoup de provisions. Je pourrais continuer cette énumération, mais je préfère me borner à indiquer quelques cas où l'on peut reconnaître une survivance assez longue du domaine et de son nom. Phtahhotpou avait sous Ounas deux domaines portant le nom de Snoufroui, (II) et (II) S) Snow et (II) So on au nom de Khéops, Sahourî, O HAT-SAHOURÎ MIRI NOFIRIT, et plusieurs au nom de Kiki et d'Assi: les plus anciens retenaient donc leur nom depuis au moins quatre siècles quand il mourut.4 Shop siskafânkhou, né probablement sous Shopsiskaf comme son nom l'indique, mais dont la vie se prolongea sous Nofirirkerî, avait deux domaines portant le nom de Khoufoui, () () () et et so, un au nom de Shopsiskaf un au nom de Sahourî (OT) domaines, ceux qui contiennent le cartouche de Khoufoui, avaient donc, à sa mort, porté leur nom pendant près d'un siècle et demi. Mihtinofir, qui vivait sous Sahourî au début de la Ve dynastie, avait un domaine qui portait le nom de Snofroui () S SNOFROUI SAOU-Hît, et un autre qui portait celui de Didifri, (🌣 🎏 🛴 DIDIFRÎ SOKHIT: 6 le domaine appelé d'après Snofroui avait donc conservé son nom pendant un siècle et demi au moins. Sabou, qui mourut dans les premiers temps de la VIe dynastie,

¹ Lepsius, Denkm. II, pl. 50 a.

² Lepsius, Denkm., pl. 74 d.

³ Lepsius, Denkm., pl. 23.

⁴ Dümichen, Resultate, T. I, pl. xviii.

⁵ Lepsius, Denkm., pl. 50 a.

⁶ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 300.

possédait à côté de domaines appelés d'après Assi, Ounas, et Teti, une propriété dont le nom renfermait le cartouche de Khâfrî. ⊙ ≥ ce domaine avait conservé son nom pendant près de trois cents ans. Quelques uns des domaines ainsi constitués se développèrent peu à peu et s'élevèrent au rang de ville: ainsi, dans le nome de la Gazelle 💢 🎹, le domaine nommé la nourrice, était un des mots qui entraient dans la composition des noms de domaine: nous avons par exemple Monâiт ртаннотрои, et _____ Monâit-Khoufoui fut d'abord un domaine à qui son propriétaire donna le nom du roi Khoufoui; puis il devint une ville, non pas Miniéh, comme on le dit depuis Champollion, mais Luis el-Anbagé, appelé aussi Médinét Daoud مدينة داود, où la Commission d'Égypte a rencontré des ruines considérables.4 Cette ville, importante pendant le moyen empire, fut, sous la XIIe dynastie, la capitale de la principauté orientale de la Gazelle. Elle avait probablement disparu ou changé de nom pendant la seconde période thébaine, car les touristes de la XXe dynastie qui visitaient les tombes de Beni-Hassan ne savaient plus ce que c'était que Monâït-Khoufoui, et, appliquant ce nom aux tombes même, y voyaient le souvenir d'une ville, d'un temple de Khoufoui.5 Beaucoup des vieux domaines ont dû avoir une destinée analogue.

De tout ce que j'ai dit, il résulte que nous avons, pour la propriété égyptienne, une constitution analogue à celle que nous avons, pour la propriété romaine, à l'époque impériale, et aux premiers temps au moins de l'époque barbare. Le domaine y est une personne ayant son nom indépendant de celui du propriétaire actuel et persistant à travers les âges. L'éxamen des processions funéraires nous apprend que, comme le domaine romain, il pouvait comprendre

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 383.

² Mariette, Mastabas, p. 353.

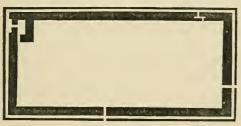
³ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 474.

⁴ Description de l'Égypte, Antiquités, T. IV, p. 347 sqq.

⁵ Maspero, Les peintures des tombeaux égyptiens et la Mosaïque de Palestrine, p. 49.

des près, des vignobles, des terres en labour, des étangs, des herbages marécageux, des terrains de chasse: on voit en effet tel de ces domaines qui amène un bœuf, un veau, une gazelle, une chèvre, ou qui apporte des fruits, des légumes, du raisin, des paquets d'oies et de volailles, du poisson, ce qui montre la variété de leurs produits et par suite la variété des terrains qu'ils embrassaient. Comme dans l'empire romain, la grande propriété n'était pas formée d'un seul domaine s'étendant et s'élargissant à l'infini : elle était constituée par dix, vingt, trente domaines et plus, quelquefois groupés dans un même canton, quelquefois dispersés sur plusieurs cantons éloignés 1 (ceux de Sabou, par exemple, étaient dans cinq nomes différents), quelques uns contigus, quelques autres isolés au milieu de propriétés du même genre appartenant à des maîtres différents. Ces domaines souvent ne renferment que des groupes d'habitations rurales trop insignifiants pour être ce que nous appelons un village; souvent aussi ils renferment une maison seigneuriale, autour de laquelle peuvent se former des villages et même des villes. Ceci me conduit à examiner ce que signifie exactement le mot HÂIT, qui échange avec le mot 😂 NOUIT, ou le double, et qui paraît à première vue désigner ces maisons seigneuriales et les bourgs qui les entourent.

2°. Je ne me rappelle pas qu'on ait expliqué de façon certaine ce que représente le signe . C'est n'est pas, comme on l'a dit, une chambre avec un siége, mais, si on le compare au petit croquis



que voici qui représente la Shounét ez-Zébib à Abydos, on reconnaîtra sur le champ que et ses variantes et le plan abrégé d'une forteresse égyptienne. C'est une enceinte rectangulaire, posée tantôt sur un des côtés longs, tantôt sur un des côtés courts; dans un des angles on a dessiné le tracé de la porte

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 383.

principale et de la place d'armes qui la défend, quelquefois même on a indiqué à deux angles opposés deux grandes portes comme c'est le cas pour certaines forteresses, ainsi pour celle de Kom el-Ahmar (Hiéracônpolis) en face d'el-Kab.

Aujourd'hui encore, en Égypte, les maisons seigneuriales qui ont été bâties avant qu'on imitât les modèles européens présentent un plan analogue à celui de la Shounét ez-Zébib. Les unes sont isolées, les autres placées au milieu d'un village plus ou moins considérable; toutes sont de véritables forteresses, offrant pour la plupart l'aspect d'un rectangle plus ou moins régulier selon les contours du terrain qu'elles couvrent. L'enceinte extérieure est assez haute pour mettre les habitants à l'abri de l'escalade, épaisse de deux mètres et plus, construite en briques crues recouvertes d'un crépis blanchâtre ou jaunâtre. La porte, encadrée de briques cuites et parfois de pierre, est assez étroite; deux ou trois poternes basses, dissimulées sur les côtés, fournissent des issues aux défenseurs de la place. Les façades sont nues ordinairement, sauf quelques lucarnes placées le plus haut possible et des meurtrières par lesquelles on peut tirer sur les gens du dehors. À l'intérieur c'est un fouillis de cours, de corps de bâtiment construits dans tous les sens, et se raccordant ou se séparant sous tous les angles imaginables: une maison assez soignée pour le maître et sa famille, des huttes pour les domestiques et les ouvriers agricoles, des magasins à provisions, des étables pour les bestiaux, des colombiers, le tout réuni par des couloirs étroits et tortueux, où la résistance peut se prolonger, même après que le mur extérieur a été forcé.1 C'est un véritable château fort, et château est le meilleur terme qu'on puisse employer à traduire Hâit dans notre langue. Certains gros villages de la Haute-Égypte renferment plusieurs de ces maisons seigneuriales habitées par des familles ennemies, et sans cesse en guerre l'une contre l'autre. Aux mois de Décembre 1885 et de Janvier 1886, un de ces villages que je visitai entre Girgéh et Abydos avait été en proie à une véritable guerre civile : le moudîr de Sohag avait dû envoyer un fort détachement d'infanterie pour rétablir la paix, et faire démolir à coups de canon deux de ces maisons seigneuriales qui soutinrent contre ses troupes un siége de plusieurs jours.

¹ Voir dans Denon, *Voyage de la Hte Egypte*, in-4°, p. 150 sqq., le récit de la résistance qu'une de ces maisons fortifiées opposa au petit corps du général Belliard.

HÂIT est donc une habitation fortifiée, par suite, la maison seigneuriale, le château construit dans un domaine, et cela explique pourquoi, dans la formule que je citais au début de cet article, on voit hart, tantôt accompagner, tantôt remplacer 👸 NOUIT. Des HÂITOU sont en effet mêlées aux processions des nouirou, qui ne diffèrent de ces dernières que parceque leur nom commence par hAit; comme les NOUITOU, les HÂITOU apportent des gâteaux, des fruits, des volailles, amènent des bestiaux ou du gibier. Quelques uns portent le nom de HAÏT sans épithète, et s'appellent le château tout court.1 D'autres, en souvenir du rôle funèraire qu'ils jouent dans les processions figurées sur le mur des tombes, s'intitulent 🖟 🖰 💛 HÂIT-KA, château de double,2 et désignent souvent soit le tombeau qui était le château du mort, soit le château où siégeait l'administration des biens du tombeaux. On y ajoute souvent le nom du mort, □ Å ☐ 💮 HÂIT KA POHNOU, 3 château de double de Pohnou, pouvait avoir plusieurs de ces châteaux de double qui alors se distinguaient les uns des autres par une épithète HÂIT-KA SONOUÂNKHOU AMENTIT, le château de double Occidental de Sonouânkhou, L T T HAIT KA SONOU-ÂNKHOU RISIT, le château de double méridional de Sonou-ânkhou, HÂIT KA SONOUÂNKHOU HIHÂTIT, le château de double moyen de

¹ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 33 c.

² Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 50 a; Mariette, Mastabas, p. 305.

³ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 46.

⁴ Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 196; cfr. Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 76 a, le suite des de Snozmou-hit.

⁵ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 276; c'est par erreur de copiste que le texte autographié donne 🗆 💢 au lieu de 🖟 🛴 .

⁶ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 398.

Sonouânkhou HAIT KA SONOUÂNKHOU MIHIT, le château de double septentrional, ПСТ СТОВ НАІТ-КЛ Sonouânkhou ouâbit, le château de double pur de Sonouânkhou, HÂIT KA SONOUÂNKHOU HÂIT ASOKOU, le château de double de Sonouânkhou (appelé) le châteaufrappeur, ou le château des chaouches.2 On trouve aussi 🧻 ⊗ HÂIT NOUTIRI, un *château du dieu*,³ un 🛮 🎇 🗞 ⊗ HÂIT Âou (?) château de l'âne.4 Très-souvent les noms des châteaux contiennent un cartouche de Pharaon: ils sont alors formés sur le même modèle que les noms des nouitou. L'on a donc des ↑ HÂIT HARAQAOU [RÂ] SÂNKHOU, 6 S A HÂIT KHOUFOUI NOFIR.7 Le même personnage donnait aux châteaux qu'il possédait dans différents nomes le nom du roi qu'il servait, et les distinguait par une épithète: ainsi Sabou avait dans le nom Libyque Anal RIT TETI IRITNIPHTAH, dans le nome de la vache, dans le nome Lètopolite

Le château *moyen* ; c'est-à-dire, le château situé au milieu des terres, dans la vallée du Nil, à proximité du fleuve qui, théoriquement, marquait le milieu de l'Égypte, entre les deux montagnes.

² Mariette, *Mastabas*, p. 317. الله est, comme j'aurai occasion de l'indiquer ailleurs, un vieux mot ayant désigné les soldats, et ne désignant plus que les huissiers, les soldats de police attachés à une administration, ce que dans l'Égypte moderne on nomme les chaouches

³ Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 481, 484.

⁴ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 80.

⁵ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 76 b.

⁶ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 80.

⁷ Lepsius, Denkm., II, pl. 32.

NOFIR IRIT SÂNKHOU dans le canton Oriental.1 Les noms de ces châteaux pouvaient se perpétuer comme ceux des domaines: ainsi Phtahhotpou avait sous Assi et Ounas des châteaux au nom d'Ousirkaf, de Kaki et de Haraqaou HÂIT HARAQAOU NOFIRKHÂ-TI, OUSIRKAF HOR MIRI ÂNKHOU KAKI MIRI ANKHOU,2 dont le plus ancien portait le nom d'Ousirkaf depuis plus d'un siècle quand son propriétaire le fit représenter sur les parois de sa tombe. Les HAITOU des simples particulier étaient donc, comme on voit, dans les mêmes conditions que leurs nouitou. Rapprochant l'un de l'autre tous les faits épars dans cette étude, on en arrive à voir que la propriété territoriale des grands seigneurs égyptiens se partageait en domaines ruraux n'ayant pas de maison seigneuriale proprement dite, ou n'ayant pour l'usage du maître qu'une maison insignifiante non fortifiée, et en domaines ayant une maison seigneuriale, un château analogue à ceux que j'ai décrits comme existants encore dans l'Égypte moderne : les premiers s'appelaient Nourrou, les seconds 🖫 🗀 HÂITOU. Je traduirai "l'hommage de tous les produits de l'année, apportés des châteaux du mort et de ses domaines du nord et du midi."

Il me reste à examiner certains emplois de ces deux mots HÂIT et NOUIT, qui découlent de leur sens primitif. Le mot NOUIT sert à désigner un tombeau, le territoire de chacune des douze heures que le soleil parcourt pendant la nuit, une ville comme Thèbes. Le tombeau était le fief du mort, et se compoposait de la maison du mort ou tombe proprement dite, des terres dépendantes de la tombe et destinées à l'entretien du mort et de ses prêtres. La tombe proprement dite est parfois comme je l'ai dit, identifiée à la maison seigneuriale, et s'appelle AÂIT OU HÂIT-KA, A Mais l'ensemble des biens du mort constitue un

¹ Mariette, Mastabas, p. 383.
² Mariette, Mastabas, p. 353.

véritable domaine identique aux domaines des vivants, et par conséquent peut être considéré comme une 👸 NOUIT; c'est pour cela qu'on lui donne le nom de Nouit 👸 dans tant de cas, et avec l'épithète , éternel, on nouit zotou, domaine éternel, concession à perpétuité. Les heures de la nuit ont chacune un territoire organisé de la même façon que le territoire de l'Égypte; ce sont de vrais nomes. On conçoit que les prêtres les aient comparées à ces domaines des grands seigneurs qui avaient ou n'avaient pas leur village ou leur maison seigneuriale, et les aient appelées Nouit, un domaine. Enfin, on a traduit des expressions par la ville d'Amon, la ville de Hâpi, Diospolis, Nilopolis. Je traduirai le domaine d'Amon, le domaine de Hâpi; ces expressions désignent en effet non-seulement la ville de Thèbes ou celle de Nilopolis, mais le territoire dépendant du dieu Amon et celui qui relevait du dieu Nil. Il y a au fond de la traduction ordinaire qu'on donne de ces mots, comme au fond de beaucoup de nos traductions, une déformation de l'idée antique. Nous sommes les dupes de nos mots et de nos notions modernes, et nous cherchons à les retrouver sous les mots et sous les idées d'autrefois, au grand détriment de la vérité historique. La traduction ville qu'on a tirée de 👸 🏻 🚃 😵 Nouit-Amon, No-Amon pour 🐒 nouit, nous a masqué le sens réel de ce mot. Si l'on voulait lui trouver un équivalent latin, ce serait par le mot pagus qu'on devrait le traduire, plutôt que par urbs ou par civitas, comme on fait ordinairement.

HÂIT entre dans un titre très fréquent sous l'ancien empire, et dont la valeur n'a jamais été établie bien nettement, celui de l' HIQOU HÂIT. HIQOU HÂIT désigne un homme qui exerce l'autorité pleine et entière sur un château, de la même manière que l'autorité pleine et entière sur un domaine; mais quel est ce château? L'inscription d'Ouni nous montre les l' HIQOUOU HÂIT placés sur le même pied que les l'Égypte. Comme nous savons que les princes féodaux portaient le titre de HI-TOPOU ÂA de leur nome, j'incline à croire que le titre parallèle de l' HIQOU HÂIT devait conférer à celui qui en était revêtu une autorité réelle sur une partie quelconque du

territoire égyptien. Et de fait, nous voyons que tous les administrateurs des nomes sous l'ancien empire s'intitulent l'HIQOU HAIT AIT, Seigneur du grand château: ainsi Amten était dans plusieurs nomes de la Basse-Égypte, Khounas était de HIQOU HAIT AIT dans le nome de la Gazelle HIQOU HAIT AIT dans le nome de la Gazelle HIQOU HAIT AIT dans le nome de la Sheikh Said avaient la même dignité dans le nome du Lièvre HIGOU HAIT AIT AIT dans le nome du Lièvre HIGOU HAIT AIT AIT dans le nom

nome busirite, en parallélisme avec celle A. Seigneur du grand château d'Héliopolis. Il y avait donc dans tous les nomes et dans toutes les villes où commandaient ces personnages un château Ahart, et même un grand château Ahart Art dont ils étaient les seigneurs. Ce grand château, comme les châteaux des domaines ruraux, pouvait être isolé ou situé dans une ville ou dans un village. Il y a aujourd'hui encore dans l'Égypte moderne des édifices qui répondent à ces châteaux, isolés ou non, et dont l'aspect et l'usage nous expliquent ce qu'étaient les châteaux Aitou de l'Égypte ancienne.

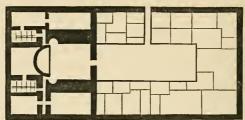
Le meilleur type que je connaisse de ce grand château moderne isolé est le couvent Blanc d'Amba Shenoudah, dans la province de Sohag. Le mot couvent, par lequel nous rendons en ce cas le nom Dêir, ne donne pas une idée exacte de ce que c'est que le Dêir blanc en question. En voici un croquis pris rapidement en quelques moments et sans instruments, mais assez exact dans les grandes lignes pour montrer ce dont il s'agit. L'ensemble forme un massif rectangulaire, délimité par une enceinte en pierres, haute, épaisse, capable de résister longtemps à une attaque de vive force où l'assaillant n'emploierait point l'artillerie pour ouvrir la brêche. La porte est placée sur le côté long qui fait face à la plaine, plus près

¹ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 4-7. ² Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 106, 299.

³ Lepsius, *Denkm.*, II, pl. 110-111.

⁴ Nestor Lhôte, Papiers Manuscrits, T. III, folio 338 sqq.

de l'angle méridional que de l'angle septentrional. Elle est assez étroite et facile à défendre, et donne accès sur un couloir bordé de chambres ou de maisons, qui débouche sur une cour à peu près rectangulaire. Les deux tiers environ de l'éspace enfermé dans l'enceinte sont occupés de maisons à plusieurs étages, étroites et



sombres, bâties l'une contre l'autre, et reliées par des passages le plus souvent voûtés ou du moins couverts. Les contours en sont indiqués au hasard sur le croquis: il eût fallu des journées pour en lever le plan, si même les habitants s'étaient prêtés à ce qu'on le levât. Le tiers restant est occupé par l'église et par ses annexes. Ce château-fort contient quelques moines, et une population nombreuse de fellahs, hommes et femmes, qui en sortent le matin avec leurs bestiaux, et se répandent sur les terres du couvent et rentrent le soir un peu avant nuit close. L'abbé et les dignitaires occupent des logements dans les bâtiments de l'église. Cette disposition est ancienne, car le couvent a été fondé à l'époque byzantine; du reste, j'ai eu l'occasion de visiter un certain nombre de dêirs ruinés, et j'y ai rencontré partout la même disposition et des dispositions analogues. L'exemple le plus frappant en est celui du couvent, situé à l'Occident d'Assouân, au dela du Nil. Pris et dévasté par les Turcs vers 1540, il est resté à peu-près tel qu'au moment où la population a dû le quitter. Le rectangle est posé sur le versant d'une colline, dont l'un des côtés longs couronne la crête. A l'intérieur, il est divisé en trois quartiers par des murs perçés de quelques portes: au bas de la colline, une véritable ville contenant des maisons encore presque intactes, au milieu desquelles circulent des rues voûtées, quelques unes assez larges, d'autres à peine suffisantes pour livrer passage à un homme; plus haut, le quartier des religieux où se dressent encore plusieurs églises, dont l'une a, dans le chœur, des fresques curieuses d'une bonne conservation, enfin, tout au sommet, un donjon renfermant probablement l'hôtel de l'abbé et de l'évêque d'Assouan, le trésor, la bibliothèque,

et qui communiquait avec la ville par un escalier long, étroit et sans rampe. J'ai eu la curiosité de faire quelques fouilles dans les forteresses d'époque pharaonique qui subsistent encore, et j'ai reconnu que le dêir en reproduit les principales dispositions. À la Shounét ez-Zébib, bien que les sondages de Mariette aient bouleversé l'intérieur de l'enceinte, on reconnaît encore, dans l'angle Sud-Ouest, près de la poterne qui s'ouvre dans le côté long tourné vers la plaine, les restes d'un édifice assez considérable qui renferme des pièces relativement assez grandes et en tout cas bien bâties: des débris d'une muraille en calcaire semblent indiquer en cet endroit l'existence d'une petite chapelle, analogue à celles qu'on trouve dans les ruines de la ville de Thébes, au milieu des maisons. Vers le centre, il n'y a pas trace de constructions; il y avait là un espace vide, place ou cour, analogue à la cour du Couvent blanc. Autour de cet espace, vers le Nord et l'Est, et l'Ouest, on constate un peu partout la présence de murs en briques crues et en pisé, appartenant à des maisons de fellahs, et, ça et là, des nappes de fumier, placées à quelques pieds au-dessous des couches de sable. où Mariette découvrit un cimetière d'ibis et d'enfants en bas-âge, montrent qu'il y avait là des étables à bestiaux. À Kom el-Ahmar, j'ai relevé des faits analogues, mais de façon moins complète, faute de temps. Les enceintes comme la Shounét ez-Zébîb devaient donc présenter l'aspect des dêirs coptes; d'une manière générale, on peut dire que les dêirs isolés nous rendent la physionomie des HÂITOU isolées.

Mais la même disposition qu'on signale dans les déirs se trouve avec quelques modifications dans les maisons seigneuriales des émirs mameloucks ou autres, que j'ai pu visiter dans quelques villes de la Haute-Égypte. Les restes de la maison que les émirs ou chérifs d'Akhmîm occupaient à l'Ouest de la ville, au XVIII^e et au XVIII^e siècle, existaient encore il y a huit ans: ils ont été restaurés et le plan, modifié vers 1884, par le descendant actuel de ces chérifs. C'était une enceinte, affectant la forme d'un carré long assez irrégulier, entouré d'un mur épais en briques cuites, reposant en plusieurs endroits sur un soubassement en pierres. Au centre, était une cour oblongue, à laquelle on avait accès vers l'Ouest par un long passage couvert, bordée vers le S.-O. par l'habitation de l'émir, et, sur les autres côtés, par les maisons des domestiques et des employés, par des magasins d'armes, de fourrages et de provisions, par des corps de garde; vers le S.-E., un autre passage voûté ouvrait sur un ruelle qui

passe derrière une grande mosquée, Gamâ'el-Emîr, et méne au bazar. Aujourd'hui, le chérif ne posséde plus que l'ancienne maison d'habitation: le reste appartient à des particuliers. La cour est devenue une place publique, le passage couvert de l'Ouest est une rue, l'autre passage voûté a été détruit et n'est plus qu'une rue découverte, sur les murs de laquelle on aperçoit encore, à intervalles, la naissance des arceaux qui soutenaient la voûte; les anciens magasins et corps de garde en partie sont détruits, en partie ont été transformés en maisons bourgeoises. C'était de ce château que les émirs d'Akhmîm administraient la ville: ils s'y enfermaient à la moindre émeute, et la famine seule pouvait les réduire. Akhmîm n'est pas visitée par les Européens, mais Siout est un de leurs points d'arrêt, sa moudiriêh est un édifice du genre de celui que je viens de décrire. Tous les touristes ont traversé cette cour ombreuse, entourée de maisons basses où sont installées les diverses administrations de la province : un mur et des canaux l'isolaient de la ville et de la campagne, et en faisaient une forteresse imprenable pour des bandes de Bédouins ou d'émeutiers. Les changements survenus en Égypte depuis quelques années lui ont fait perdre une partie de sa physionomie, mais on voit pourtant qu'elle était le château, le donjon, d'où les gouverneurs de Siout tenaient la ville pour leur maître. Chaque grande ville moderne de la Haute-Égypte, Esnéh, Girgéh, Kous, Kouft, Assouân, possédait et possède encore un château de ce genre: A HAIT AIT, grand château, des anciens textes en était le prototype. Chaque ville de l'Égypte ancienne avait son château où siègeait le prince féodal ou l'administrateur nommé par Pharaon. Il y logeait ses biens, les magasins où s'entassaient les produits de l'impôt; ses esclaves et ses soldats le mettaient à l'abri d'une émeute ou d'un coup de main. Il était | HIQOU HÂIT ÂIT, seigneur du grand château, et n'avait au-dessus de lui que le de le de нідои нідои нідоиоц. seigneur des seigneurs, c'est-à-dire le Pharaon. On comprend à quelles tentations de révoltes pouvaient l'exposer cette demi-indépendance. Enfin, la résidence du Pharon lui-même était un grand château.1

On trouve le mot hâit appliqué à un dieu. Le dieu était en effet un seigneur féodal, faisant fonction de maître sur un territoire plus ou moins étendu, et borné par les territoires relevant

des dieux du voisinage. Le terme que nous traduisons par temple, est donc à proprement parler le château fortifié où le dieu résidait, et d'où il gouvernait son domaine par le ministère de ses prêtres, comme le prince séculier gouvernait le sien au moyen de ses scribes et de ses soldats. Ainsi à Thèbes. Le sanctuaire d'Amon à Karnak était la maison du dieu 🗔 🌡 🚃 🛇 PI-AMON, et PIROU, PI, PIR, maison, est le mot qui répond le plus exactement à notre mot temple. L'enceinte rectangulaire en briques crues, qui enferme le temple et le gros de la ville, et dont les pylones détachés des temples de Khonsou et de Nectanébo marquent encore les portes, était 🖟 🖺 🖟 🖟 🚾 😂 HÀIT AMON, le château d'Amon. Le territoire du nome Thébain, bordé au nord par le territoire des dieux de Kous et de Coptos, au sud par le territoire des dieux de Taoud et d'Hermonthis, était d'Amon, le domaine d'Amon. Je ne crois pouvoir mieux résumer qu'en cet exemple les explications que je viens de donner, et je termine en proposant pour les mots discutés, les traductions sui-

NOUIT DOMAINE,

HÂÏT MAISON SEIGNEURIALE, CHÂTEAU,

HÂIT ÂÏT GRAND CHÂTEAU, BASTILLE,

qui, si elles ne rendent pas entièrement la valeur des mots égyptiens, en approchent plus, à mon sens, que la plupart des traductions proposés jusqu'à présent.

Le Portel, le 15 Septembre, 1889.



[1890.

A FORGOTTEN PRINCE.

By A. WIEDEMANN.

The relations between Ramses II and his father have often been treated in different ways (p. ex., Maspero, Hist. anc., 217 sq.; Brugsch, Gesch. Aeg., 469 sq.; Wiedemann, Handbuch, 418, 427), but in the discussion it was generally overlooked that Ramses was not the eldest son of Seti I. The eldest son appears three times in the description of Seti I's war in the north. Firstly is found the picture of a prince bringing prisoners to the king; his title is given, but not his name (Champ., Mon., 290, 2; Not., 87 sq.; Rosell., Mon. st., 46, 1; Guieysse, Rec. de trav., XI, 56). The second representation (Champ., Mon., 292; Not., 91 sqq.; Ros., Mon. st., 50 sq.; L. D. III, 128a; Guieysse, l. c, 59; cf. Leps., Koenigsb., nr. 416) shows the return of Seti I from the war in the first year of his reign. Behind the king a prince stands with the bow and flabellum, and above the inscription YIND NEW 1 SET Rosellini gives, in the destroyed parts, some signs which appear to be very doubtful; so is also the at the end, given as certain by Lepsius and Champ., Mon., as uncertain by Champ., Not., and wanting in Rosellini. The words show that the prince accompanied his father to the country of Retennu. His titles are the usual ones of Egyptian princes; only is new. The word I was looked upon by Guieysse as an title translated "le grand des imprécations;" to me it appears more probable that it is a causative of , "praise," and that the title was a priestly one, meaning "the high-praiser at" (follows the name of a temple). The text in general is very well preserved; only the picture of the prince and parts of his title and name are erased.

The third mention of the same personage occurs in a bas-relief showing Seti I killing an enemy (Champ., Mon., 297, 2; Not., 98, sq.; Ros., Mon. st., 54, 2; Guieysse, l. c, 68; cf. Leps., K., nr. 414-5). Behind the enemy the is standing, whose picture is spoiled by chisel-marks, while the remaining bas-relief is untouched. Behind Seti a very small prince is seen, the SOME TO SOME WHO has not been hurt. This last figure representing the later king Ramses II, who has here the same titles as at Abydos, injures the whole. The representation of the war of Seti I is divided into different incidents, separated one from the other by vertical lines. Ramses is standing between two of them; his head is drawn through an hieroglyph of the separating line, and the very small signs of his name are partly engraved in one, partly in the second incident, as if the figure had been only inserted at a later time in the already finished bas-relief.

The other prince appears nowhere else, but this can not surprise. The reign of Seti I was apparently a short one; the highest date known of it is the 9th year (the date, year 27, given in my Handbuch, 421, belongs to the reign of the last Ramesside). The number of larger texts of his time is small, and his temples were nearly all not finished by himself, but by Ramses II. Such was the case with the temple of Abydos, the large pillar-hall at Karnak, and the temple of Qurnah.* If our prince died before his father, his name could not be expected to appear very often, the father having no time to engrave it, and Ramses II having no interest to commemorate him.

We know from the inscriptions of the latter king, that he tried to make believe that he reigned from his earliest childhood or even before his birth. At Abydos he relates how his father gave him the crown,

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^{*} To the inscription about Maā in this temple, which I published in the Annales du Musée Guimet, X, 561-73, and of which the first part had been already edited by Champ., Not., I, 303, an interesting parallel text is given by Virey, Le tombeau de Rex-ma-rā, pl. 35-6, p. 152.

and in another place it is said that the monuments were already designed with his name during his first youth. These assertions are not true. Ramses II counted his years not from his birth, but only from his real kingship, which he got as a grown-up man; in his fifth year several of his sons were old enough to accompany him in battle. If he had really been associated with the throne, he would certainly have counted from this event, as other Egyptian kings did. Further, no monument is dated in a double-reign of Seti I and Ramses II; when the two appear together, Ramses is called prince and not king. The differing indication of Ramses originates evidently in the pretension of all Pharaohs to have the same course of life as Horus, who was king from his childhood. If Ramses II entertained this wish, the existence of an elder brother, who was the and would be king, if he did not die before his father, must have been very disagreeable to him. He, who used with predilection the monuments of his ancestors as material for his own, would try by all possible means to destroy his brother's memory; the obliteration of the prince's name will have been made by his instigation. The prince took part in the Syrian war, and was therefore then an adult; it is doubtful if Ramses also assisted, the only proof would be given by the above bas-relief, in which his picture is so out of place as to make us doubt its historical value.

Of the name of the prince only the sign is preserved. Underneath there is space for only one long sign, so that the whole name, if marks the beginning, may have been a word appearing in the XVIIIth and XIXth dynasties as a private name. For instance in the text on the ahu, published by Virey, Mém. de la Miss. arch. du Caire, I, 481 sqq., whose date, year 5, refers, as M. Virey pointed out, to the time of Ramses II. To his proofs we may add, that the quoted on pl. III is known to be a son of the governor of Thebes at the time of Seti I and Ramses II, in whose tomb (cf. Champ., Not., 520 sqq, 846 sqq.) he appears as The lambda is in necessary to supply as the first element the name of a divinity, as Rā or Amen and to translate then, "The god N. is the only master."

The elliptic formation is here the same as in the names Neb-f, Neb-mes, Neb-nu-t, Neb-neter-u, etc.

The only objection which could be made against the opinion that Neb..... was the first son of Seti I would be, that \ was not only a designation of the son of a king, but also a title. This use of the word in relation with country or town names is very well known. For example the suten sa en Kusch may be a prince, but the title does not necessarily involve this position. Also other persons might bear the title suten sa; this was the case in the XIIIth and XXIInd dynasties and in the time of Ramses II (Wiedemann, Aeg. Zeitschr., 1885, 79), and the same use existed under Seti I, when the son of the suten sa en Kusch Amen-em-apt had the title "A Season in Egypt, 1887," Inscr. No. 110). But in our case it cannot be spoken of as a mere title. This is shown by the addition of to the , which can only be used properly for a real son of the king; the representation and mention of the prince side by side with Seti I, to whose person alone the suffix a in the titles can refer, proves this king to be his father.



Monsieur le Secrétaire,

Permettez-moi d'avoir recours à vos bonnes grâces pour voir effacer deux petites inexactitudes qui se sont glissées dans mon dernier article, inséré aux *Proceedings* (Vol. XII, Déc. 1889).

- 1°. Le nom de reine que M. Maspero avait lu Anhâpou doit nécessairement se transcrire, comme l'a fait ce savant. C'est que, à l'époque d'où date l'inscription hiératique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les formes cursives des hiéroglyphes o et l'e sont à peu près identiques, ce qu'elles deviennent du reste bien avant cette époque. La variante le series du nom du Nil se rencontre, par exemple, Maspero, Deir-el-Bahari, page 599, et sans déterminatifs, Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 41, où von Bergmann nous fournit le nom propre le series de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identiques, ce qu'elles deviennent du reste bien avant cette époque. La variante le series de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identiques, ce qu'elles deviennent du reste bien avant cette époque. La variante le series de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à peu près identique de la caisse de Séti 1er, les sont à les s
- 2°. En mentionnant les documents relatifs à l'oracle du dieu Amon de Thèbes, j'aurais dû tenir compte de l'excellent article de notre savant confrère M. Pleyte, article qu'il a publié dans les *Proceedings* (X, Nov., pages 41—55). Je ferai du reste remarquer que la déesse *Mout*, épouse d'Amon, ce dernier portant le titre (Lepsius, *Die Elle*, pl. I, b).

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Secrétaire, l'assurance de mes sentiments de parfaite considération.

Votre très humble serviteur,

KARL PIEHL.

UPSAL, 16 février, 1890.



Notes on Egyptian Texts of the Middle Kingdom.—II.

By F. L. GRIFFITH.

I have recently received, through the kindness of Dr. Krebs, a copy of his valuable Dissertation* on the great inscription of Khnumhotep at Benihasan. Many passages are most satisfactorily explained in it, but in some cases Professor Maspero's translation† of 1879 is to be preferred.

The original of this important inscription was written with rather more than the usual amount of carelessness. Ridiculous errors ‡ (*\(\subseteq \subseteq

Lines 80-81. Āḥān smnkh-nā-s Ahā always takes in the papyri (Saneha, Prisse, Mathematical-Rhind): at Siut § (I, 247, corrected by Erman in pl. 21) and at Rîfeh (VII, 50)

"(As prince in Menāt-Khufu) I established it (the city) and its treasures grew in all kinds of things."

This can hardly be explained as it stands. Possibly [[] |] III III is the "chamber of the kas" in the temple as at Siut [] (I, l. 285,

^{*} De Chnemothis Nomarchi et Commentatio, Berlin 1890 (in Latin).

[†] Recueil de travaux, i, p. 160 ff. Compare also Piehl's notes, A.Z., xxv, p. 34 ff.

[‡] Dr. Krebs has silently corrected some of these.

[§] The references are to my own publication, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh*, Trübner, 1889. I prefer to quote the number of the tomb, not of the plate, as a revised edition of the texts may well be hoped for.

"I established a ka-house for the kas of my father."

Strictly speaking, I believe a man had only one *ka*, but the plural is used similarly elsewhere,* perhaps in the sense of ka-statues.

Lines 104-113: The meaning is very doubtful.



* I must quote a later text, the very curious record of a sale of land, published by M. Bouriant, Rec. de trav., ix, 100. It is dated in the 66th year of Rameses II:

. This may perhaps be translated: "Whereas is given ar dudu? to thee the price of this land, namely to this my mother (who is the servant of the kas (N.B.) of the priest and Kher heb Nekht menthu), upon the west of the canal of Hermonthis. (Therefore) is assured to him āhāntu smnnf? the land which was of Aputa," I.c. lines 5-8. It would be of great importance to know where this unique document is to be found.

† Max Müller's ingenious and plausible interpretation, Rec. de trav., ix, p. 170, includes an apparently wrong identification of the sign T with the T series, some varieties of which resemble it very closely: but the doubled string T is a distinctive mark. T "to sweep together," and T "to offer." Brugsch, Wtb., Supplement, p. 30, may be compared.

b. seem to state correspondence (cf. Maspero ad loc.) and a word quoted in Brugsch's lexicon.

a, b. "... the courtiers, who gave me praise:
equal was the reverence(?) paid to me,
equal were the praises offered before the decree? (face?)
of the king himself,

that is, "I received from the courtiers the same salutation with which they saluted the king himself (or his speech)."

c. A Down in lit. 'that of their master' forms the subject of the verb & ??

"Never thus was the (honour paid to) their master given to servants: (I mean) the praise of the courtiers."

Lines 184-88:

The parallelism of m st'.. n fkht-f mt'am m khnu n qbat-f

seems to me to give the key to the meaning.

a. \bigcap or perhaps better \bigcap is exemplified in Brugsch's Dictionary, and \bigcap is a well known word meaning "to untie," exuere, etc.; \bigcap means "covering," and here mt am \dagger

 \dagger fkht-f m t'am with the preposition m, "solvere eum a praeputio," meaning "exuere praeputium," is hardly a possible construction even in this highly artificial passage.

may be a derived form signifying praeputium: it must be distinguished from Maspero's transcription, Mélanges d'archéologie, p. 157), has probably an entirely different meaning.

The first half may now be translated, "He was ruler of his city as a babe of his circumcision," *i.e.*, a newly circumcised * infant.

b. $\triangle \mathbb{R}$ is papilla, the nipple of the breast, being here a more special determinative. The only possible rendering seems to be, "as a child of his breast," meaning "a suckling."

The two phrases are therefore:

- a. "He ruled his city while he was yet an infant at the time of its circumcision."
- b. "He performed a royal mission (?), his plumes (of office?) waving while he was yet a babe at its mother's breast."

The precise meaning of *apt suten* has not been discovered. The child may have been nominally president of the court in some royal enquiry undertaken at the command of the king.

Dominion in extreme infancy was attributed to kings, e.g., Usertesen I,† and subjects also prided themselves on the early age at which they commenced feudal rule or a distinguished career.

Cf. Siut III, 13, Tefaba's son $2 \sqrt{2}$ $\sqrt{2}$ $\sqrt{2}$ $\sqrt{2}$ $\sqrt{2}$ $\sqrt{2}$ "ruled when a cubit long," i.e., as a new-born babe. ‡ And Siut V, 21,

^{*} Cf. Hdt., II, 37 and 104, for the custom in Egypt.

^{† &}quot;He has ruled from the egg," Saneha, 1. 68, much as we say "a born ruler."

[‡] The meaning of this phrase, differently interpreted by Maspero, Revnee Critique, 1889, p. 417, "en homme equitable," is assured by the passage " "ein Kind von einer Elle" in the Westcar Papyrus, as quoted by Erman, Die Sprache des Pap. Westcar, p. 139 (for the context, see Erman, Aegypten, p. 501); is a word of the most indefinite meaning. Lastly, I learn, on the best medical authority, that 21 inches is the average length of new-born infants in England, so that the idiom of the Egyptians was very correct, especially as their babies probably measured a trifle less than those of the tall northern peoples.

The king made Kheti "rule when a cubit long; he promoted his seat [] at the age of t'aa," whatever that means.

Line 188-9: (i.e.) | Compared to Sice of the king knew the nature of my tongue, the moderation of my character?"

For ast nsa compare Rîfeh, VII, l. 46, aqa hāti mt ast ns, "exact in thought, just in speech."

"In this city," "in this tomb," are *cant* phrases, and sometimes almost superfluous.

Lines 208-13. I should read somehow thus:-

^{*} Cf. Bergmann, Rec. de trav., ix, p. 57

[†] This was proved by Piehl, A.Z., xxv, p. 33.

should be 5000

a. "Great in a monument* for this city beyond my fathers."

b. "A son of this city, excellent in monuments of its necropolishill beyond the progenitors, upon the edifices which were made before my time;" b refers to his restorations and improvements of old monuments?

An excellent feature of Kreb's edition is the clear and suggestive arrangement of the Text, indicating the parallelism and sequence of ideas. I have been glad to avail myself of the hint in the preparation of these notes.

* This phrase, *ur mnu*, occurs as an addition to the royal name on a colossus of Rameses II, Petrie, Tanis I, Pl. V, 35 c, and on the shrine of Saft (Naville Goshen, Pl. V, l. 3), as an epithet of Nekhtnebef. It should perhaps be translated in a general way 'monumentally great,' without reference to the object upon which it is inscribed, or any other definite work, but more examples are required to prove this.

† The copies give approximately \(\big(: as also in line 12. \) \(\big(: \big) \)

‡ Errors are so numerous that this word may be viewed with suspicion.

Hieratic may easily be misread (compare for instance line 66 of Pap. II, Berlin, where would be a passable transcription of the signs composing "wanting," deficient," "insignificant," should be read here.



THE NEW ACCADIAN.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A., Oxon.,

CHAPLAIN OF LINCOLN'S INN; FORMERLY CENSOR AND LECTURER IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

(Continued from page 222.)

ACCADIO-CHINESE ROOTS WITH INITIAL L.

In his well-known and invaluable Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte, published nine years ago (Leipzig, 1881), Prof. Paul Haupt gave this brief list of Accadian words with initial L (vide p. 156):—

- (1) lag', "bright, clear, light."
- (2) lag', "to be pure, to purify."
- (3) lag'lag', "to glitter, to beam."
- (4) lag', lag'lag', "to carry, or be carried away."
- (5) lamma, "a demon."
- (6) *lal*, "to suspend, to weigh, to pay"; "to pour out, to fill."
- (7) lid (?), "a bull or steer."

- (8) lu, "to trouble, disturb."
- (9) lu, "Mensch, Mann."
- (10) lugal, "king, lord;" properly "great man."
- (11) lugud, "clear blood."
- (12) luguruš, "Mann."
- (13) lug, "servant."
- (14) lul, "bad, refractory" (wider-spenstig).

Several of these terms have already been compared with their Chinese representatives. They may now be treated with greater fullness. Y, LAG', "bright," "light," and its reduplicated form Y Y, LAG', "to glitter" (with a phonetic suffix Y Y Y Y Y Y LAG', ag'-lag'-ga), is hardly a distinct root from Y Y, LAG', misû, "to wash, cleanse, purify." LAG'LAG' is rendered by the Assyrian abâbu, "to wash, purify," e.g., the hands, ceremonially: and by ibbu, "clean, pure," and its synonym ellu, which is also used of the hands: cp. I LAG'LAG'=nâru ellitu, "a pure stream." The moon-goddess, Ai, is called lag'lag', "the pure," like the chaste Artemis-Diana, or, perhaps, simply "the bright." LAG'LAG' is rendered in other places by namâru, "to glitter," namru, "bright," and nûru, "light." The character Y, LAG', namâru, namru, nûru, is oniy a graphic variant.

Now for LAG' (=lag=lang), "bright" and "to cleanse" (i.e., "to make bright"), we have in Chinese the exact equivalent lang, "clear, as moonlight, bright, lustre, clearness." The term is compounded with ts'ing, Amoy ch'eng (ZIG, DIG), "pure, clear, limpid," "to purify," in the expression ts'ing-lang, "limpid, pure, transparent," of water. And as the moon-goddess is called lag'-lag' in Accadian, so in Chinese we have the phrase yueh lang, "bright moonlight, moonshine." To complete the parallel, this same Chinese character has in Cantonese the meanings "to rinse the mouth," "to rinse in water, in order to cleanse, as a plate"=LAG', misû, LAG'LAG', ubbubu, "to wash." With the older lung, we may compare the second half of the Accadian compounds su-Lug and sus-Lug, "to be bright" (namâru). su, sus, answer to sü, "limpid, pure," süeh, Cantonese süt, "snow, to whiten, to wash clean, white." Chinese supplies, besides, lang, "fire," "the bright blaze of a fire," and lang, "bright, clear." Close cognates are loh, older lak, Cantonese lok, "to brand, red-hot"; lan, dialectic lam, lam, lèn, "fire burning furiously"; lan, "the lustre of burnished metal, especially of gold" (used also in the compound ts'ing-lan, "brilliant"); lan, "the lustre of a gem"; lan, dialectic lan, lan, lèn, "bright, splendid, brilliant" (cp. also Accadian DI, "to shine," DÊ, "fire").

The next term in Dr. Haupt's list is \(\), LAG', reduplicated LAG'LAG', "to carry or be carried away," as booty. This ideogram is variously rendered alâku, "to go, to march" (cp. \(\), DUN, TUM, "to go"); \(\) \(

difficulty"; lu, older lok, Cantonese lok (=lag), Amoy liok, Shanghai lok, "to go carefully"; lu-lu (=lag-lag), "to go with," a crowd; lu, "to move, walking about," "to go up or down," as stairs = Accadian Lag'Lag', arâdu, "to go down" (= loh, old sound lak, Cantonese lok, "to descend"); lu-lu, "to toil or trudge along"; lioh, lueh, older liak, Cantonese leuk, Amoy liok, Shanghai liek, "to rob, plunder, take by force, invade, make a raid"; lwan, older lon (=lan), Cantonese lun, Shanghai lu, "to capture prisoners, prisoners, slaves taken in war"; lu, "a road, to travel." It is natural to remember in this connexion the Accadian [EII], which had the two values lu, DIB. With the latter pronunciation the character means "to seize, take, bind" (ahâzu, sabâtu, kamu), and probably also "to walk" (alâku); but the Chinese forms just given make it likely that lu also once had these meanings.

For the sake of completeness, I add the principal related forms of the Chinese.

The second character with initial l in the Chinese lexicon is la, "to pull, to drag along, to lead, to seize." In the three dialects this is lai, liap, $l\acute{e}$; the old sound was lap (LAB). Then we have la, "to pass by—to go ahead"; la, dialectic, la, lat (LAD), $l\acute{e}h$, "to grab at, to clutch—to carry off in the mouth," etc.; lai, dialectic loi, lai, $l\acute{e}$, "to come, to bring, to get"; lan, dialectic lam, lam, $l\acute{e}^n$, "to go quickly—to stride over, step across," lan, "to grasp"; lan, dialectic lan, lo, li, old sound lu, "to carry off, to drag away"; li, "to walk"; liang, Cantonese $l\acute{e}ung$, Amoy liong, "to jump," read lang in the phrase lang-lang ts-liang-ts-liang, "to hurry, press on rapidly" (ts-liang, "quick"); liao, lin, lio, "to run, get away"; lieh, lip, liap, lih, "to stride over, leap over, overstep, to tread"; lien, liin, lian, lin, "the quick, jumping run of some animals"; lien, "to transport, remove"; li, old sound lik (LIG), "to pass over, by, or to"; li, "a step, to go"; finally, lin (lim), "a raised field-path."

gates of temples and palaces. Now LAMMA, or LAM, "strong," answers to Chinese lan, dialectic lam, lam, lè", "strong, hale"; cp. lieh, lip, liap, lih (i.e., LIB), "robust"; lieh-lieh, "tall and strong." LIB, LIBBA, šutuķu, "extended, long," is one of the values of the sign FIY. Another value is LIG, LIGGA, dannu, "strong, great," which I have already compared with Chinese lih, old sound lik (i.e., LIG), dialectic lik, lék, lih, "strength." Chinese has also lin, "strong, fierce, enduring," dialectic lun, lin, ling.

We may also compare with LAMMA, the awe-inspiring, protecting genius of temples, *lung*, "the dragon," the emblem of imperial power and awe, and a designation of the ruling powers of nature; and *ling*, "the spirit or energy of a being, the majesty of a god, divine, supernatural aid"; a term applied variously to gods and ghosts. Kü ling is "the great or chief Spirit"; san ling, "the three spirits, i.e., the sun, moon, and stars." Cp. also läng (leng), "the awe or influence of a god."*

But as regards *lung*, which is important as being the 212th Chinese radical or determinative, it is to be remarked that its meanings, "to bud" (pullulare) and "essential vigour," point at once to the Accadian (I) LAM, ešebu, LAM-LAM uššubu, "to sprout," LAM, and LUM-LUM, unnubu, uššubu, "to shoot, bourgeon, sprout." And as this *l* represents even in Accadian an older d (cp. (I) DIM, "to beget, to be begotten," E DAMU, DUMU, "child"; and another instance to be mentioned presently); and as initial d is dialectic for g, we are not surprised to find that in Accadian E is pronounced G'UM and GUM (Oppert) as well as LUM, or that Chinese possesses yung, "bursting forth, as plants," yung,

^{*} As regards ALAD, the character is the only one with the value lad or lat in Accadian. This character also means "strong" (dannu), and "to take, capture" a city (kasâdu), when pronounced KUR. ALAD is perhaps "the seizer"; cp. la, lat (= LAD), "to grab at, to clutch," already cited. But as kasâdu is thought to mean "to come at, reach, get" (ankommen, gelangen, erlangen, erobern), and lai (old sound lat?) is "to come, to reach, to get"; this term also may be cognate with the Accadian LAD; cp. LAG', "to go" and "to carry off." On the other hand, as the ideogram suggests, ALAD, like LAMMA, may simply mean "strong"; cp. lao, lò, lo, "firm, strong"; lei, "robust, strong"; lao-lao, "gigantic"; of which terms lat may have been the earlier form.

[†] This character is also contained in KA-LUMMA, "dates" ($\$ulupp\ell$). Cp. Chinese $kv\omega$, Amoy $k\delta$ (= ka); Shanghai ku, "fruit." The "five fruits" (\$uuh $kv\omega$) are peach, apricot, plum, chestnut, and date. With LUM here may be compared lang (lung), "a species of palm."

"brave, brawny, to exert strength," which are related to *lung*, as GUM is to LUM. But, further, we find also in Accadian the group ETY EX DA-LUM, explained *dannu*, "strong, mighty." This is a compound of the ordinary kind, consisting of two synonymous terms, and not an ideogram as has been supposed hitherto, viz., DA, aštu, a synonym of dannu, + LUM (= LAM), "vigorous" (strictly used of sturdy growth), and then, generally, "strong, mighty, stout, great." Lung ma tsing-shān, "of dragon horse vigour-spirit" = "he has the vigour of a dragon or a horse." * Of the same Chinese character, lung, it is further noted that, "in matters relating to betrothals, it is often used for a man." This is certainly remarkable; for, in Accadian, we have the composite NITA-LAM and NITA-DAM, in the sense of "spouse," "husband" (Assyrian hā'iru). NITA is "male" (= NI), and DAM (LAM) is "mate," either man or wife (**) is both DAM and LAM).

The Accadian DAM, LAM, "mate," coincide in sound and idea with other Chinese terms. With DAM we may compare tang (tong, dong) "what is suitable, convenient, or just," "equal to, to match." a relation of ideas which is illustrated by the Accadian GIN (DIN), "just, proper," GIM, DIM, "like"; tăng (teng, deng), Amoy têng, "to compare, equal, like, same"; and t'ung, dialectic t'ung, tong, dung, "together, all at once, all, united, identical, same, alike, to unite, matched, to equalize, to assemble, and, with, the same as"; a group of meanings which is not the disconnected farrago which it may appear to be, but which corresponds plainly enough to the Accadian words aiready cited, GIN, TIL (TIN) "all," NI-GIN (NI-MIN) "all assembled together," "to assemble"; DIM, DIG, DUG, "great," "heavy"; GIN, DIM, "like"; GIN (DIN) "to unite"; GIŠ, DIS, "one"; GIN (kenu) "just, equal"; KI, XY DI, itti, "with." DAM, not only means "man" and "wife," but also kima, "like, according to," and atta, "thou" (my second or fellow). And as we notice once more t and d interchanging as the initial sound in these Chinese words, so in Accadian we have >EY EY TUMA as well as DAM, DIM, in the sense of "like, as."

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^{*} Tsing, "fine, subtle, delicate"; "the pure part of a thing, ethereal, essential"; "the germinating principle, semen of males," recalls DIM, "to beget," on the one hand, and Z1, Z1G, "life, soul, spirit," on the other. As it also means "an apparition, a wraith, a form taken by spirits," we may also compare DIMMA, "a ghost." For the relation of ideas, cp. the phrase tsing ché shàn-chi pàn, "the semen is the support of the animal spirits." The Amoy chéng gives the d-form corresponding to DIM.

We have already observed the curious connexion subsisting between the Accadian and Chinese words for the first and second numerals, and the first and second personal pronouns. A great fuss has been made by some writers over the fact that the Accadian $\stackrel{\checkmark}{\rightarrow}$, KUR, is rendered by the opposed Assyrian terms ahu, "brother," and nakru, "enemy"; while the synonym Exist šeš, alu, "brother," is likewise also equated with limnu, "hostile," "bad." But the familiar uses of the Latin hostis, "foreigner, stranger, enemy," and its cognate hospes, "foreigner, guest, friend" (cp. the Greek Eévos), ought to have been enough to restrain any one acquainted with the classics, from supposing upon such grounds that Accadian words were merely arbitrary symbols, employed variously as the fancy of their inventors, the Assyrio-Babylonian scribes, might dictate. There is really no rational objection to the combination of opposite meanings in the same term; and, as a matter of fact, the phenomenon is not uncommon in philology. Is not the Hebrew ברך "to bless" and "to curse"? and does not Arabic, in particular, supply a number of instances of a similar character?

If the Accadian terms for "brother" mean "the other, the second," "the man at one's side," it is intelligible enough that they might be used in the senses of "alien, opposed, hostile," as well as "second, helper, comrade"; cp. our own ambiguous term "match," related to "mate," and used in an analogous double sense. I dare say all this will be called special pleading; so I will say no more, but content myself with the following little tabular comparison of the Accadian and Chinese sounds in question, showing at a glance their common uses:

Accadian 🚣 KUR.

Chinese KU(R).

- KUR, "a brother" (aħu); KUR,
 " a father," " parent " (aħu).
- 2. KUR, "an enemy"; "to be hostile"; "to alter," "injure," "deface" (nakâru, nukkuru).

kiu, "a brother" (of one's mother or wife); a husband's parents were formerly so called (kiu-ku); kiu is an old term for a wife's father.

kiu, "to twist, to cabal, to head a sedition"; kiu, "a fault," "wicked acts"; "evil" (limnu = šeš); kiu, "to hate"; kiu, "to destroy, demolish."

Accadian 🚣 KUR.

3. KUR, "to help," "defend," "save" (naṣâru).

4. KUR, "all together," "as a total," "in sum" (naph ariš, adv. from pahâru, "to assemble").

5. KUR, "another," "a second," "different," Lat., alter (šanumma); cp. No. 1.

6. KUR, "to repeat, tell," "inform" (šunnû).

7. KUR, "male" (zikaru").

To these may be added:-

Accadian KUR.

8. KUR, "land, country, earth" (mâtum, irsitum)

9. KUR, "hill" (šadû).

10. KUR, "dwelling place," "neighbourhood" (dadmu).

II. KUR, "to conquer" (kašâdu).

12. TKUR, "to bind" (rakasu). kiu, read liu, "to bind." *

Chinese KU(R).

kiu, "to assist, save, protect, defend."

kiu, "to assemble," kiu, "to collect together, many, to the end"; kiu, "after all, finally, at last."

k'iu, "to pair, to match, to join two in marriage, a union, partner."

kiu, "to inform, to announce."

k'iu, membrum virile; kiu, "the male of the elk."

Chinese KU(R).

k'iu, "a hillock; a hill with a level top for worship, a high place"; the term is also a classifier of parcels of land; "a plot or lot" of land; san k'iu, "the three hills," where the fairies dwell in the eastern seas.

k'iu, "a place, village; a tumulus."

kiu, "to act with martial vigour."

Of course it is not meant that kiu, k'iu, are the only Chinese equivalents of the Accadian terms. I wished to show that, even restricting our comparisons within the narrow range of these two closely-related and ultimately identical sounds, it was possible to find modern representatives of most of the Accadian homophones written as 4, KUR. But it is not to be forgotten that the Chinese kiu, k'iu, are, like all other sounds in the Mandarin vocabulary, members of a series; and if we enlarge our horizon, so as to

^{*} The Accadian LU, "to bind," p. 271, supra.

take in their cognates, we shall strengthen our argument by the additional evidence which they afford, and perhaps account for the few Accadian homophones which we have not succeeded in identifying under KIU, KIU.

For LAL, the sixth term in Dr. Haupt's list, see Proceed., Nov., 1889, p. 12. The seventh term is LID, "a bull or steer," or rather perhaps "a wild ox." The sign, (has also the value RIM, from which which the Semitic rîmu, re'em, were probably derived. In Chinese we find li, "the Tibetan yak or grunting-ox." But other domestic animals bear similar names in Accadian. Thus we find JEYY, Lu, read upu, in the sense of immeru and kirru, "lamb"; JEYY -EEM, LU-LI, read GUKKAL, "lamb" or "sheep" (GUG + KAL); LU-GUG, LU-ZIG, LU-NIM, kirru; and [E] ()-, LU-LIM, lulimu, which has been variously rendered "he-goat," "ram," and "bell-wether." With IU as the class-prefix of small cattle (sênu), we may compare the Chinese lao, dialectic, lò, lò, lo, "domestic animals," which, with the prefixes ta, "great," and shao, "small," denotes oxen and sheep respectively. Lu, "a deer," may also be related. As to Lim, in Chinese a ram or deer "with three curls in its horns" is called santsa-chien, "three-curl-horn." Chien is the modern reading of lien = LIM. At Canton the character is pronounced lin, at Shanghai li^n . LULIM is thus "sheep + horn."

Lu-nim may be compared with *yuen*, dialectic $\bar{u}n$, gwan, $n\bar{u}^n$, a large-horned species of sheep, found west of China, said to be as large as an ass (NIM = $\bar{s}aq\hat{u}$, "high"). Lu-zig contains a z-form corresponding to the d of UDU, as DUG to zib. Chu, a lamb five months old, is $dz\bar{o}$ at Shanghai, but t'u (= DU) in Amoy. Chinese has other z-forms, as the Shanghai $ts'\hat{c}^n$ (= zin), "sheep crowding together," the Mandarin ch'an (DAN). As to Lu-Gug, I have already compared yang, Cantonese $y\acute{e}ung$, Amoy yong, old sound yung (= yug, Gug), with Gug in Gukkal. Yang, the 123rd radical, means "a sheep or goat," and "animals of this family, as the antelope or gazelle."

sense of "ointment" or "anointing" (rukkû); cp. EL LU, "to mix up" ingredients into an ointment (marâsu: Jensen), with nié "to work or knead with the fingers, as in clay." The character -- IN, NAG, has also the value LAM (Hommel), both apparently in the sense of drinking or giving to drink; cp. the Chinese lan, dialectic lăm, lam, lè", "greedy for gratifying the appetite," "to have a drink all round, and finish the bottle." The same Accadian character is pronounced IMMELI, in the sense of the Assyrian šikru, "strong drink," "new wine or must," or simply "liquor." IMME = IMMA IMA (IM), with vowel harmony, on account of LI, has already been explained as meaning "to drink," "drink." (Or IMME = IN + ME, "drink + water": IMMA = IN + MA, ditto.) In this term it is compounded with LI, "must" or simply "drink"; cp. the Chinese li, dialectic lei, lé, li, "sweet or newly distilled spirits-must, new wine." IMME-LI, "drink + must," is thus formed exactly after the analogy of GES-DIN, "liquor + wine," GUG-KAL, "sheep + lamb," BAN-ŠUR, TIM-MEN, etc. The syllabary uses the same Assyrian term, šikru, for the explanation of another Accadian term for "drink," viz., GAM, written 🛶 (); a term which is not to be confused with its homophones of various meanings. GAM, šikru, is related to GU, lâšu, "to sip," as LAM in NITA-LAM, "husband," is to LU, "man," or as NAM, implied by the Chinese nan, "male," is to NU, "male" (in the three dialects nan appears as nam, lam, $n\acute{e}^n =$ NAM, LAM, NIN). Now GAM, "drink," corresponds with yen, "to swallow"; e.g., yen-shui, "to drink water"; in Cantonese in and it, in Amoy yat, in Shanghai in; yun, "fermented liquor," = wăn, un, yün; yin, "to drink-drink," and, with a different tone, "to give to drink" = $y\bar{a}m$, im, $y\bar{a}ng$; and other related terms.

The same Accadian ideogram repeated, GAM-GAM, is the name of some kind of bird, which the Assyrians, imitating the Accadian name, called gamgammu. There may be as much or as little connexion between GAM, "drink," and GAM-GAM the bird, as between the Chinese yen, "drink," and yen, "a swallow" (ep. English, "to swallow" and "a swallow"). Yen is the general name for birds of the swallow tribe; but another yen is the female phænix (in, an, i^n) , so called in early times because it was the bird before which all others bowed (ep. Accadian GAM, kadadu, "to bow the head"); another, the wild goose = ngan, gan, nge^n (=GAN or GAM, GIN).

^{*} NAM, "man," is also implied by NAM as a relative particle; cp. MULU, "man," and "who."

With the determinative MUL, "star," the same ideogram occurs as the name of a star: MUL-GAM | MUL-LUGAL, "the star GAM | the star of the king"; 2 R 49, 10 C.; and again, MUL-GAM | GIS-KU ša šu Y D. Marduk, "the star Gam | the weapon of the hands of Merodach," 5 R 46, 3 a. In Chinese we find another yen, the name of a star in the Milky Way. The character also means the eaves of a roof, and the beams which support them (cp. GAM, "to bow, bend").

The Accadian ideogram also means šupû, "shining," as in MENGAM, agû šupû, "a glittering crown"; cp. yen, "bright, as a gem"; yen, "luminous, bright"; yen, "brilliant"; yen, "to flame, blaze"; yen, "fire" (cp. GI in GI-BIL, "fire").

This ideogram is also probably to be read GAM in the compound GAM-LIL, šakášu, "to destroy," "slay"; cp. yen, "to grind to powder"; yen, "to fall"; yen, "to throw or push over," "to bend" (=GAM, kanâšu); yen, "to repress"; yen, "to cut off or in two"; yen, read ye, "to destroy entirely" (in the compound yen-tsüeh, where tsüeh = tsüt, tswat, dzih, Fuchau chiòk, Chifu chié = ZID, ZIG, DIM, DIG, "to cut short a thread," "sever," "utterly destroy").

The other value of the ideogram, zubu, which is rendered by the Assyrian gamlu, "benefiting," is probably no more than a variant form of zib = dug, "good."

The l in LI, etc., supra, appears to represent an older d; so that EMIP ILI,* ILA, nasa, "to raise," $\hat{e}la$, "to go up," "high," very naturally has also the value DU, as well as the corresponding g-form GA, which also means "to raise." That this DU had a similar meaning is likely, as it is only a dialectic variation (cp, DU, tilu, "a mound"). Accadian possesses another ILI, written f, a character of which the commonest syllabic value is NI, but which also stands for I and DIG. It is probably a synonym of the other, meaning "high"; for f, ILI, is used as an ideogram for the like-sounding Assyrian term ili, "gods," and even for the singular ilu, "a god." At all events, the value I recalls I, $n\hat{a}du$, "lofty," "exalted"; and ILI may be a composite word, viz, f LI (f DI), as if, "High and Lofty."

^{*} In such cases the former term is the class-prefix, or the more general expression, which is restricted or defined more exactly by the latter. The change from N to I. in the case of initials should be compared with the like change in that of finals, DIN, DIL, "male," TIL, TIN, "life," šUDUI, šUDUN, "yoke."

The sound yen affords other important verifications of Accadian terms. We saw that the compound EN-NUN, "watch," "to watch," "to guard," contained it. Besides yen, "a night-watch or guard" = im, giam, ni^n , we have yen, "doorkeepers in the harem—persons who stand as guard, eunuchs" = im, vam, i^n . Bearing in mind that y = G, we see that these forms corroborate the suggestion already made in regard to EN, "charm, spell," that it is worn down from GAN or GIN (p. 71). But the word EN, yen, "watch," has since suggested to me an important identification. When dealing with i, ni, "to glance at," and mu, "the eye," I compared with them IGI, "the eye" (= IGIN?). Now Chinese has not only the *m*-form mu, "eye," but also the corresponding guttural forms yen, "the eye" = ngan, gan, ngen; which three dialectic forms imply primitive GAN, GIN. Further, the 147th radical is kien, "to see" = kin, kin; a term which points to a primitive GIN, with dialectic form KIN, as plainly as kien, "a slip of bamboo for making notes on, an official writing, documents," points to GIN, "a reed," and KIN, "a letter," or kien, "stable, immovable, firm," to GIN, "fixed, firm," or kien, "to ravish, wild, horrid, ogre-like, villainous, wicked (of genii and spirits)," to GI-GIM (= GI + GI, sabâtu, ekimu, "to take, seize, carry off"), "a demon." I was long puzzled to identify this yen (gan, gin), "eye," "to eye," or watch, and kien, "to see," in Accadian, until it occurred to me that it was contained in the compound EN-NUN, "to watch." ÊN = GÊN, GAN, "eye," and NUN, which we compared with nu, "to guard," is clearly an n-form synonymous with ên: cp. nín (NIN, NÜN), the Shanghai equivalent of yen, "a night watch." In hien, "to watch narrowly" = han, kien, we have identical forms (GIN, GAN, KIN). ÊN, "lord," NIN, "lady," are parallel Accadian forms.

More remains to be said. The *g*-forms, *k*-forms, *m*-forms, *n*-forms, and forms which have lost their initial sound, are before us. But we have usually found that a *g*-form implies a dialectic *d*-form, with a variant *t*-form corresponding to the *k*-form; and further pairs of dialectic variants in b, p, sh, z, are also possible. Do these phenomena occur in the present case? In Accadian we have IDÊ, "the eye," "to see," represented by the character (r-, which has the various sound-values IGI, IDÊ, LIM, LIB, MAD, BAD, SHI.

Now 1GI, 1DÊ, mean not only "the eye" (ênu), but "the face" (pânu), and consequently "the front," "before" (maljru, maljar). In just the same way, the Chinese mien, mín, bian, mín, the 176th

radical, denotes "the face, the front, before, in one's presence." It hardly needs to be pointed out that *mien* is the *m*-form implied by yen, kien, and the Accadian $\mathbb{R}N$ (GIN). And when it is added that the same Chinese character also signifies "to front, to face, to show the face, to see one, to look," we can understand the like breadth in the Accadian usage.* The next homophone in the Chinese lexicon, *mien*, "to look towards, to accompany, to go with, to turn the back on," curiously corroborates our view that $\mathbb{R}N = \mathbb{G}N$; for these meanings obviously answer to $\mathbb{G}N$, "to see," $\mathbb{G}N$, "to go" (cp. NI-GIN, "to come together"), and $\mathbb{G}N$, "to turn back" ($t\hat{a}ru$), or "to turn round" ($sah\hat{a}ru$); cp. NIGIN in the same sense.

The M-form immediately answering to 161 would be 1MI. This form is actually found in Time, 1MI, originally "face," a point of the compass; a term which enters into the designation of north, south, east, and west, in Accadian. In Chinese mien, "the face," is used in a similar sense: pah mien, "the eight faces," or directions, are the four points of the compass and their halves. It was natural to transfer the Accadian term to the four winds.

As t-forms answering to mien, kien, we have tien, "written documents, records" (Accadian TIM), "statutory, constant" (Accadian GIN, "fixed"), "to consider, to take oversight of" (Accadian $\rightarrow \stackrel{\longleftarrow}{\longrightarrow}$, $\stackrel{\longleftarrow}{\text{M}}\hat{\epsilon} = \hat{\text{men}}$, then, "reflexion," "wisdom"); tien, "to glance at, regard with attention"; and tien, "to show one's face."

T'ien, "a field," the 102nd radical, as a verb read tien, with a different tone, means also "to arrange for planting, a plantation, to till, to hunt." With the last meaning it is clearly the t(d)-form of NI-GIN, "to hunt." In the other senses it represents A-PIN, "a plantation" (narṭabu), where PIN (BIN) supplies a p or b-form; cp. pei, "to heap up dirt, to cultivate," pi, "the coulter of a plow," piao, piu, "to hoe fields," pien, pin, "a bank between fields," pien, "an ancient land-measure, $\frac{1}{9}$ th of a village lot"; and especially pien, pin, the 91st radical, a classifier of plots of land. Pin, "a border," and pin, "to make a partition," are related; a field being a portion of land divided off by borders or banks from the rest. \dagger

^{*} Besides yen, "the eye," yen, "a night-watch," etc., Chinese has yen, "the countenance, visage."

[†] Another meaning of APIN is "foundation" (uššu); cp. păn, pún, older pen, "the origin, root, source, fundamental part."

The same Accadian symbol is read ENGAR, in the sense of "field-worker," "tiller of the soil" (ikkaru). With this en, which is softened from GAN, "a field" (eklu), cp. yen, "limits of a plot of ground," dialectic in, yan, yin (where yan = GAN, in = $\hat{E}N$, and yin a transition form between GEN and GE); as well as yuen, "a yard, a garden," and yuen, "a high and level field." The second element GAR (KAR) abbuttu, "field-work," "serfdom," answers to yao, dialectic iu, yau, yo, "feudal vassalage or labour of a serf, a villein's service." The old sound ngo = nga, and Shanghai yo = ya = ga, point to ga(r); while iu = yu = gu = gu(r).* So we have yao, "a brick-kiln," agreeing with Accadian TES GAR, dialectic MAR, the common ideogram for brick (libittu); yao, "a car" = GAR, "a chariot" (narkabtu); yao, "to bite, gnaw, chew" = GAR, "to eat" (akâlu); cp. ya, the 93rd radical (= ga) "teeth, to gnaw, bite" = dialectic nga, ga; yao, "brightness" of heavenly bodies, "to shine" = GAR, "brightness," "to shine."

THE CHINESE 'RH.

In my haste to banish an apparent anomaly from the Chinese lexicon, I rejected a valuable testimony to the truth of my own theory (p. 79). I was not ignorant of the leading facts which I am now about to state; I was misled by the fewness of the sounds grouped under this head, and by the fact that they were all homophones, instead of presenting the usual elaborate development. What has now to be said upon the subject does not, however, involve the withdrawal of any of the suggested comparisons with Accadian terms. I have to add rather than to subtract.

Exclusive of proper names, there are twenty-four homophones written irh. This represents the sound $\check{a}r$, if we are to keep to Dr. Williams' usual mode of signifying the particular vowel-sound involved. But in English it might equally well be written er, with Dr. Edkins, or ir or ur: ordinary pronunciation making little or no difference between the vowels of bird, surd, nerve. The h of irh seems especially inappropriate, because the Chinese irh is not rough but smooth. (1) The first of these homophones is the 126th radical, irh, dialectic irh, irh (= GI, GI, IR), "and, together, also,

^{*} We can now explain LAGAR, LABAR, ardu, $kal\hat{u}$, "servant," "man." The former consists of LA = Chinese lao, "labour" + GAR = Chinese yao, "service" (servitium = servus); the latter of LA = lao + BAR = pao, "to dig" a trench; p*ao, "to till the ground."

still, if, as if," "all" (in the phrases ir-i or i-ir, "that is all"; kiu jăn ir-i, "nine men in all"). These meanings at once recall those of the Chinese terms related to the Accadian GIN, discussed in last month's Proceedings (p. 208). Now it is a noteworthy fact that just as we have in Chinese a form ir or er (ăr) cognate and synonymous with gi (now i, ji), so we have in Accadian IR or ER as a dialectic equivalent of GIN (FIT ERI, IR, alâku, "to walk, go" = FI GIN, alâku). What is the etymological relation between these Accadian words? I think the Chinese dialects, if nothing else, might teach us. IR or ER is simply GIR denuded of its initial sound. And if IR, IR-RA are relics of GIR, GIR-RA, ERI may be the remnant of MERI. This suggestion is confirmed by the fact that GIR, GIR-RA (dialectic MERI, means "foot" (šêpu) and "track" (kibsu) or "path" (tallaktu), and that GIR-GIN is "to go," "to tread" (kabâsu), and "path." The same relation is traceable between these terms as between the Sanskrit pad-yâmi, "to go," padam, "a step," and pâdas, "foot." To walk is to foot it, and a path is made by footprints. Among the other uses of this Chinese particle, we find that it may mean "as if," "like"; e.g., in the phrase, "to treat darkness, ir ming, like light," or "as if it were light." This may correspond to \bigstar ; which sometimes means $k\hat{\imath}ma$, "as, like," and is read IR in the sense of kirbu, libbu, "middle," "heart." (The other values of this sign illustrate the wearing down of initial g. They are GUR, G'UR, UR; G'AR; G'IR; besides MUR and KIR, KIN.)

Among the uses of [Fiff], IR, we find it as a postposition, equated with the Assyrian ana, "to, unto, into, toward," and ina, "in, by, with." In the former sense it is clearly identical with IR, "to go," "to bring." Cp. (2) The Chinese ir, dialectic i, jin, ir, "near, at hand," "to approach"; ir-lai, "hitherto." Lai, "to come, to reach, to bring," may be compared with the postposition [Fiff] RA, ana, ina, on the other. LI is the Chinese postposition li, "to, in," as kia-li, "unto the house," ye-li, "in the night." Now [Fiff] RA ana, therefore, are, as we suspected, merely special uses of the verb of motion. The Japanese pronunciation of lai, "to come," is rai. It is curious that Accadian supplies both the l-form and the r-form.

^{*} That this LI, "with," is not independent of an older *d*-form, is evident from [7], read DI, and rendered *itti*, "together with."

(Besides RA, Accadian has — or YM, RU, in the same sense, as a postposition. The modification of vowel depends on the laws of vowel-harmony.) ANIR or ANIRA, "to his father," is thus literally "father + his + going." A trace of the postposition IR, "to, at, on," is seen in the Chinese kin-ir, "to-day," ming-ir, "to-morrow"; "depend on me, tsz'-ir for this."

- (3) The Chinese ir, dialectic i, ji, ir (GI, GIR), "whiskers, hairy," may be at once explained by supposing an Accadian by-form GIR = GIŠ, "hair," as in the case of GIŠ and GIR, "heaven," KIŠ and KUR, "horse."
- (4) The Chinese *ir*, now read *lan* (see p. 270), dialectic *i*, *ji*, *ir*, "to boil," recalls GIR GIRRI, "fire," = GI, "fire."
- (5) The Chinese *ir*, "water flowing in diverging streams, warm water," an expression used of the flow of tears, corresponds perfectly to \(\forall \)\(\forall \)\(\forall \) ER or \(\frac{i}{R}\), "tear," "to weep," "weeping" (\(dimtu\), \(bak\alpha\), \(bik\alphatu\)). The other pronunciation of this ideogram, \(\hat{E}\)s, is an instance of the interchange of final R and SH just referred to. This (G)IR, (G)\(\hat{E}\)s, may be compared with GUR, "to flow," and perhaps GA\(\hat{S}\), \(\frac{G}{E}\)s, "liquor" (\(\hat{S}\)\(\hat{E}\)s, "to mourn," is perhaps \(\hat{E}\)s + \(\hat{E}\)s; \(\chop\). \(\hat{E}\)S\(\hat{E}\)
- (6) The Chinese *ir*, "a queen-post resting on the top of a beam, to support the roof," may be compared with the common THE "IT", UR, "a beam" (Assyrian gušuru).
- (7) The Chinese *ir*, "a funeral carriage or hearse," may be worn down from GAR, MAR, "chariot."
- (8) The Chinese *ir*, "a male child," *e.g.*, *ir-nii*, "boys and girls," has the dialectic forms *i*, *ji*, *ni*, answering to the Accadian girl (gi, giš) and NI, both of which are defined *zikaru*, "male," as already stated. With the Mandarin *ir*, we may compare [17], UR (*amêlu*), "a man," and [7], URU, dialectic ERI, "servant"; and probably [7], ERIM, *sâbu*, "man," "warrior."
- (9) The Chinese *ir*, "a small horse" (*ir-ma*, "a stallion"), may be worn down from KUR, "a horse."
- (10) The Chinese ir, ni, dialectic ni, ji, ir, "to eat," may be referred to GAR, KUR, KU, "to eat," GU, "to lick" or "sip." The fluctuation between the vowels i and u here and elsewhere will be no shock to Accadian scholars.
- (11) The Chinese ir, "the ear," "a side," dialectic i, ji^n , ni, is another example of GIR = GIS, the latter being an Accadian

term for ear (giš-tug, and gê, uznu). The Amoy ji^n recalls gin, "to hear" $(mag\hat{a}ru)$.

The meaning "side" (which appears also in two other homophones denoting the sides of the mouth or face) agrees with \(\mu_{\top}, \)
UR, "side," "quarter," (esidu, hamamu), and with \(\omega_{\top}, \)
UR, "a wall"
(usurtu), and with \(\omega_{\top} \omega_{\top}, \)
When the loins, the flanks" (sûnu), and with GUR, "heap, bank, side" (karû): Sb 1, 3, 20. ir-ir, "soft and pliable, of reins, complying," implies (G)IR = GIN, "flexible."

- (12) The Chinese ir, "ear-ornaments," is obviously an extension of ir, "the ear." In the sense of "a ring near the sun," "parhelion or mock-sun," it reminds us of the sign EMMEY, GIR, $\text{M}\hat{\text{E}}\text{R} = \text{M}\hat{\text{E}}\text{N}$, "a crown." The moon is called in Accadian "lord of the bright crown"; an expression which seems to allude to the halo which sometimes surrounds it. In Chinese yun (old sound yin), dialectic wan, hun, yan (= MEN, GIN), is a halo. The relation to Accadian MêN, "a crown," on the one hand, and to GIN in NI-GIN, "to surround," on the other, is evident. Cp. yuen, "round" (yan = GIN).
- (13) The Chinese *ir*, dialectic *i*, *ji*, *ir*, "to cut off a man's ears," recalls GUR, "to cut off" (kasâmu, kaṣâṣu, maṣâru).
- (14) The Chinese ir, "thou, you," in the three dialects i, ji^n , ir, is another instance of (G)IR = GIN; cp. the Amoy ji^n = GIN. We have already seen that GIN and MÊN mean both "I" and "you" in Accadian.

A second use of this homophone is as an affirmative particle, "so," "just so," "thus," "in that way." This implies (G)IR = GIN, "thus," $(ki\hat{a}m)$; and answers to (?), "like": vide supra.

A third meaning is "to remove" = the Accadian \mbox{mr} , IR, "to cause to go" ($\mbox{\it suluku}$), "to take away" ($\mbox{\it tab\'alu}$); and the fourth is "abundant," $\mbox{\it e.g.}$, $\mbox{\it ir-ir}$, "plentiful"; with which we may compare $\mbox{\it Y-I}$, UR, "abundance" ($\mbox{\it baltu}$, $\mbox{\it bultu}$, root $\mbox{\it wabal}$; rendered by Prof. Hommel, strotzende Fülle, Ueberfluss). $\mbox{\it Cp}$. also GUR, "to flow." This is, again, an instance of (G)IR = GIN; for we have GIN, $\mbox{\it mal\'u}$, "to be full."

(13) The Chinese ir, "to turn the head or face towards..." is, again, an instance of (G)IR = GIN; for GIN is $t\hat{a}ru$, "to turn," $sah\hat{a}ru$, "to turn round" (p. 53); cp. GUR, $t\hat{a}ru$, $sah\hat{a}ru$. In Cantonese it is mi or ni; in Amoy ji, at Shanghai ir. In Cantonese

- (14) The Chinese *ir* or *ni*, and *mi*, *ji*, *er*, "woven feather and hair work," "coloured hair," admits of further comparison, not only with our hypothetical GIR = GIS, "hair," but also with $\[\]$ UR, URRI, "a hyena," (Assyrian ahh), and the synonymous UR-BARRA (ahh, barbaru). The variegated fur of the creature is indicated by both names (ehh the next erh).
- (15) The Chinese ir, dialectic i, ji, er, "the blood of a sacrificed fowl," "to pull out the hairs of a victim's ears," er-er, "ear-blood," may be compared not only with GIR = GIS and GE, "the ear," but also with Erre, URU, "blood" (damu).
- (17) The Chinese *ir*, the 7th radical (dialectic *i*, *ji*, *ni*), "two, the second, to divide in twain, to double," may be equated in the first sense with ATM, GIR = TAB, tappû, "a fellow," "second"; and in the third sense with TM in IR-TIM, "a plow-share" or "coulter," apparently (dimmu, maḥrašu). TIM means "to cut," and the analogy of other compounds of this kind requires that IR should be synonymous. With this IR, "to cut in twain," "divide," cp. AE, "IR, "the middle" (kirbu, libbu), and UR, "the bowels" (têrtu), and TM, UR, "the loins" (sûnu: Dr. Jeremias, ap. Beiträge zur Assyriologie, p. 287), which are middle parts.
- (18) Lastly, *ir* (*i*, *ji*, *mi*), "a substitute, a second," a mere duplicate of the last homophone, has also the meanings "to suspect" and "to oppose." *Cp.* Yell, UR, "an enemy" (*nakru*), or

^{*} Hau, in Amoy k'o, and at Shanghai k'h, is the 30th radical, pronounced k'au in Mandarin. These dialectic variants point to an original $k\bar{a}$, $k\bar{u}$. The term means "the mouth," "a gate," and is identical with Accadian $\Rightarrow \downarrow \downarrow \downarrow$, KA, "mouth" and "gate" ($p\hat{a}$, $b\hat{a}bu$).

"opponent," URRI, do., AT TIM, ERIM, "a foe" (aibu), on the one hand; and TIM, URU, (dialectic ERI?), "to help," "protect" (naṣâru), on the other. And cp. KUR, p. 274.

I leave these facts to speak for themselves, as they doubtless will, to people whose knowledge of Accadian goes beyond a doubtful assent to the definitions $\kappa_{\rm I}={\rm earth}$, and ${\rm ana}={\rm heaven}$. Those who prefer to keep Accadian to conjure with, will probably not thank me for comparing with $\kappa_{\rm I}$, "earth, land, country, place, domain," the Chinese ki, "a domain,"—"a limit or border," ki, "land left—poor land," ki, "the god or spirit which animates the earth," $Tu\ ki$, "the goddess Earth," $sh\check{a}n\ (sh\acute{n})\ ki$, "the gods of the land" (Accadian shi, "spirit," $\kappa_{\rm I}$, "land"); ki, "a border, confines, imperial lands."

It is obviously of the greatest consequence that Chinese, which has for the most part dropped or metamorphosed the final r, should have preserved it in these crucial instances. As is well known, Chinese transcriptions of foreign names usually exhibit l for r, as in Eu-lo-pa, Europe, Ki-li-sse-tu, Christus. That this change began in very early times is evident from the fact that it is observable in native words as compared with their Accadian prototypes. Take the Accadian KIRRUD, "a hole, hollow, gorge or valley" (hurru). This, as usual, is a compound term = KIN + RUD. The character is (E), which is composed of (, BUR, "depth," "bottom" (šuplu), and (YEY, KI(N), "earth," and thus suggests "hole in the ground," and is equal to the Assyrian hurru, "Loch, Schlucht, Thal," as Dr. Delitzsch long ago explained. In Chinese we have k'u-lung, "a hole," from k'u, "a hole in the ground or hill-side" (cp. k'u, "a cavedwelling," and k'u, "the buttocks," šuplu), and lung, "a cavity." This lung = RUM, in KIRRUM, the alternative value of the Accadian character. On the other hand, Chinese has preserved the I of BILLUDU, "law, precept, command"; cp. pien, "a law or rule of action," dialectic pin, bi^n , and $l\ddot{u}h$, (lut = LUD), Cantonese lut, Amoy lút, Fuhchau luk (LUG = LUD), Chifu lü, Shanghai lih (LID, LIG), "a statute, an ordinance." Thus BILLUD = BIN(PIN) + LUD, and is a

Now in Accadian (E), KI, is also pronounced DU.

^{*} $T^{i}u$, "earth, ground, land, region, place," is the 32nd Chinese radical. There is also ti, "the earth, the second of the three prime powers, worshipped as Queen Earth, a place, a spot, a territory, the bottom or support of a thing"; and both occur together in the phrase t'u-ti- $sh\check{a}n$, "the local gods."

synonym of the other terms grouped under the ideogram \(\frac{\pmathbf{T}}{\pmathbf{N}}\). That this group may be read also PAN,* in the like sense, as the component parts of it (PA-AN) suggest, is made probable by the fact that \(partial^{\pmathbf{N}}an\) in Chinese means, "to divide in twain, judge, decide," "a decision, sentence." † The value Kuš, \(par\) \(par\) \(\frac{\parai}{\parai}\) iii, "command of a god," may be compared with the cognate Accadian Kut, "to decide," (\(par\)\) \(par\)\

This group affords another example of the value of recognizing in Accadian the existence of nouns compounded of two synonymous expressions, like those we have just considered. I think it should be read SAG-DUGGA. It is well known that the group means "head" (kakkadu). SAG or SANG we have already compared with the Chinese sang, "forehead"; DUG answers to Chinese t'au, which at Shanghai is pronounced $d\hat{u}$, "the head" (cp. also lu, "the skull," "the forehead" = du). We have also the cognate forms \tilde{L} , TIG (ting), "the head" ($r\hat{c}$ su), and in Chinese ting, "the top, crown, head."



^{*} Hence PAN-PAN, "a chapel" (parakku); cp. BAR(A) in the same sense.

[†] lüh (lut) is also "to divide, to distinguish between, to adjust"; and fien, a homophone of pien cited above, is "to cut asunder," "to divide or distinguish," "to discriminate." Cp. pan, "to divide in two, to halve." With GAR-ZA(G), the other value of +++, cp. yao, dialectic yò (= ga, gar), "to be bound, to restrict, to try, to examine into," and tsai, "to govern, to rule," and tseh, dialectic tsāk, chék (DIG), "rule, precept, law," and chah, Shanghai and Chifu tsah, "an order."

No Meeting will be held in April, according to Rule XXXIX.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th May, 1890, at 8 p.m.



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PART 6.

[APRIL, 1890. NO MEETING.]

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1890.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

PART 6.

[April, 1890. No Meeting.]

I have received a letter from the Rev. Cesare de Cara, S.J., inviting attention to a series of articles on the Hittites, by him, now appearing in the *Civiltà Cattolica*. The following extract from his letter will be of interest:—

Cipro fu primitivamente occupata dagli Hethei (Hittiti) che le diedero il loro nome χεθὶμ, come attesta Flavio Giuseppe confondendo χεθὶμ, cioè מַרְרָבָּׁׁ con figlio di Javan. Col nome di χεθὶμ, egli dice, gli Ebrei chiamano tutte le isole e la maggior parte delle città lungo il mare. Ora quel nome χεθὶμ sopravvive, alterato, è vero, da' Greci, in una città di Cipro, cioè in Κίτιος, Citium. Dunque, conchiude, da Cipro, ἀπ' μὐτῆς νῆσοι τε πῶσαι, καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν χεθὶμ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται ("Antiq. Jud.," Lib. I, c. VI). Il ragionamento di Giuseppe non regge. Una città qual è Κίτιος, Citium, non poteva dare il nome a tutte le isole e a tanti paesi lungo il Mar Mediterraneo. L' isola chiamata da lui Χεθιμὸ occupata da Χέθιμος, e in quanto da questo occupata, potè dare e diede di fatto il nome di Χεθὶμ a tutte le isole e a moltissimè

luoghi marittimi. Imperocchè quel Χέθιμος, tolta la terminazione greca, è χεθὶμ, cioè פּרִבְּרֵכְּ Hethei (Hittiti). La mutazione del X di Χεθὶμ in K per riguardo a Κίτιος è dovuta a' Greci, come afferma Giuseppe : Κίτιος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξελληνισίντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται (l.c.) Il nome primitivo dunque con pronunziato col X, e tutti i Codici hanno infatti in questo vocabulo Xεθὶμ di Giuseppe : Xεθὶμ, Xετεὶμ, Xετεὶμ

Si confirma il già detto che cioè l' isola di Cipro fu denominata $X_{\epsilon}\theta \partial \mu$ dagli Hethei (Hittiti) che ab antico l' occupanno, da un altro fatto importantissimo e finora sfuggito all' attenzione degli hetheologi.

Gli Hethei fondarono nell' isola di Cipro una città, alla quale diedero il nome d'una loro città celebre di Siria, Hamath (Hamah). Quetta città in Cipro si chiamo 'Aμαθοῦs, che tolta la desinenza greca, resta $A\mu a\theta$. Ora l' $A\mu a\theta$ cipria è identica ad Hamath sira; le varianti non sono che puramente accidentali e di nessun valore. Difatti l' Hamath sira da' LXX è detta 'Aμαθί, da Giuseppe 'Aμάθη (l.c. p. 23), da altri Hemath, Emath, Amath, Hamath, Chamath e Chammath, per ragione della gutturale conservata ovvero caduta. Anche in assiro v' è la stessa varietà e accanto a Ha-ma-(at)-ti, Haam-ma-at-ti troviamo Amatti (II, Rawl., 53, no. I, l. 37; Khorsab., 49, 56). La leggenda riferita da Stefano di Bisanzio porta che l' Amath di Cipro fu fondata da Cinyra, e detta 'Αμαθοῦς da Amathusa sua madre. Cinyra poi è detto figlio di Pafo re degli Assiri. Da Cinyra e da Smirne nacque Adonis Osiris che Cipriotti e Fenicii rivendicano esclusivamente per loro. Il mito è qui abbastanza trasparente e vuol dire che il culto di Adonis fu introdotto in Cipro da' Siri cioè dagli Hethei di Hamath sira in Amath di Cipro. Che patria primitiva degli Hethei sia stata la Tiria fu da me dimostrato nella mia Opera sugli Hyksôs; che Siri e Fenicii sono spesso scambiati dagli antichi gli uni con gli altri è cosa nota, come di pari Siri con Assiri.

Inoltre tutta l' isola portò un tempo il nome di Amathusia (Plin. V, 31, 35), come portò quello di $X\epsilon\thetai\mu$. Ma la prova perentoria che l' Amath cipria sia figlia dell' Hamath sira è per me, la somiglianza e quasi identità di alcuni caratteri dell' alfabeto arcaico di Cipro con quelli delle iscrizioni di Hamath presso l' Oronte, come fu già indicato dal Dr. Taylor e ne fu fatta l' applicazione felice dal Sayce. Di quella somiglianza di caratteri delle iscrizioni hethee con quelli dell' arcaico alfabeto cipriotto, nessuno cercò la ragione

che ora io ho trovata e che sembrami convincente, cioè che l' origine dell' Alfabeto arcaico cipriotto è dovuta agli Hethei e forse a quelli in particolare che fondarono Amath in Cipro.

Se la mia scoperta è reale, avremmo importanti conseguenza da cavarne per l'avanzamento degli studii sugli Hethei tanto nobilmente promossi dalla patria di Vostra Signoria, dove nacquero, e per i quali ella ha tanto fatto a comune utilità de' dotti. Troverà nel mio secondo articolo svolte tutte queste cose ampiamente, che qui ho solo accennate.



29I

Y 2

LES COUPES MAGIQUES ET L'HYDROMANCIE DANS L'ANTIQUITÉ ORIENTALE.

PAR MSE. SCHWAB.

(Communication faite à l'Académie des Inscriptions les 3 Août 1883 et 25 Septembre 1885.)

Les Orientaux ont accordé grande créance aux pratiques de magie. Les coupes judéo-chaldéennes, à formules d'incantation, trouvées lors des fouilles récentes faites en Babylonie, sont la preuve palpable de ces superstitions populaires. C'est donc de la Chaldée que les pratiques magiques et divinatoires se sont répandues dans le monde, et qu'elles ont pénétré même dans les milieux d'où elles auraient dû être plus particulièrement bannies. Ainsi, M. Edmond Le Blant * a démontré que chez les premiers chrétiens, certains versets inscrits des phylactères devaient sauvegarder leurs possesseurs des effets de la torture. Par exemple, un texte de saint Jean au sujet de la Passion, † qui contient ces mots: Non comminuetis os ex eo, était considéré comme possédant une vertu préservatrice et permettait aux patients, soit coupables, soit martyrs, qui le récitaient, de demeurer impassibles au milieu des souffrances. Cela est si vrai qu'attribuant à l'emploi de pratiques secrètes la constance des premiers chrétiens suspects, à leurs yeux, de magie, † les païens s'appliquaient à chercher les moyens de rompre le charme.

L'origine antérieure de cet usage se retrouve chez les Assyriens. § A cet effet, il suffit de rappeler, outre le poéme de "la descente d'Istar" (trad. Oppert, *Fragments Mythologiques*, p. 8), les Inscriptions de Nabuchodonosor dans les *West-Asia Inscriptions* (T. I, pl. 61–63), celles de Negrilissor, pl. 67, et les termes d'hydromancie

^{*} Actes des Martyrs, dans les Mémoires de l'Académic des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, T. XXX, 2° part, p. 105.

[†] S. Jean xxi, 36; cf. Exode xii, 46; Nombres ix, 12.

[‡] E. Le Blant, Mémoire sur l'accusation de Magie dirigée contre les premiers Chrétiens, dans les Mém. de la Soc. des Antiquaires de France, T. XXXI.

[§] Les recherches dans le domaine de l'Assyriologie utilisées ici, sont dues à l'obligeance de M. Babelon.

en général (*ibid.*, T. II, pl. 56, col. III et IV; T. IV, pl. 1, col. I, pl. 3, col. II; pl. 14, 16, et pl. 25, col. IV). A côté d'Assour, rappelons les Phéniciens, dont une série de coupes en forme de calottes hémisphériques a été décrite par M. Clermont-Ganneau (*l'Imagerie phénicienne et la mythologique*); les sujets tracés à la pointe sur les parois rappellent assez les inscriptions en spirale des coupes juives.

On pratiquait également des opérations magiques en Assyrie avec d'autres liqueurs que l'eau, de même qu'on offrait aux dieux des libations de vin, d'huile, d'hydromel, et de lait. M. Oppert * a consacré à l'une de ces liqueurs, ou le *sikaru*, une notice fort intéressante, dans laquelle il a rapproché cette expression désignant une "boisson fermentée," du terme biblique

I.

Il n'est pas étonnant que ces formes du mysticisme aient passé chez les Rabbins.' Outre les nombreux versets de la Bible où se reflète le souvenir des "eaux de vie et de résurrection" (Zach. xiii, 1; xiv, 8; Joel iii, 18; Ezéch. xlvii, 1–12; Prov. x, 11; xiii, 14; xvi, 22; Ps. xxvi, 9–10), maints passages de l'Ancien Testament et des Evangiles sont relatifs à la "coupe de ruine et de perdition" (Isaïe xli, 17; Jéremie xxv, 15–27; S. Matthieu xx et xxvi).

On reconnait aisément des allusions à des pratiques d'hydromancie dans les passages suivants du Talmud, où l'on interprète et commente le texte biblique à la lumière des usages contemporains. C'est ainsi que le *Midrasch Rabba*—sur Genèse ch. 92 (f. 80 b.; cf. Yalqut, I, s. 150 (f. 47 b.), et IIe partie, s. 929, f. 131d.—dit: "Josef prit la tasse, et feignit de faire des expériences et de flairer la tasse." Dans le *Tanhouma* (s. 5, f. 20 a, sur Genèse, xlii. 9 etc.; *Midrasch* sur Proverbes i. 14), on lit: "Il prit le calice et frappa dessus." †

Le Talmud (B, tr. Baba Metcia, f. 29 b.) parle aussi d'un breuvage magique במא דהרסנא, composé de stimulants ou d'ingrédients narcotiques. Il faut cependant reconnaître que le sens du second mot דהרסנא n'est pas très clair. On voit, d'après le radical, qu'il s'agit d'un mélange bien broyé, comme en arabe

^{*} Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 1882, 2e trimestre, p. 125.

[†] Cf. Graetz, Monatschrift, XXVII, p. 336; J. Lévy, Targum Wörterbuch, I, p. 364 b.; Lattes, Nuovo saggio di giunte e correzioni al lessico Talmudico, R. Accademia dei Lincei, p. 278 (1880, 1), s.v.

رُيْسَةُ d'où هَرِيْسَةٌ, "pâtée de viande," selon Fleischer, * et c'est un peu avec ce sens que l'on retrouve la même expression dans d'autres passages talmudiques (B. tr. Beça, f. 16 a.; tr. Sabbat, f. 37 b.; tr. Yoma, f. 84 a.; tr. Aboda Zara, f. 38 a).

Voici enfin une anecdote du Talmud† dans laquelle on voit un sorcier devenu, par une force magique, inaccessible aux eaux de pluie qui tombent par torrents sur ses vêtements; il "passe à travers les gouttes," comme nous disons encore dans le langage familier:—

"Simon B. Schetali se leva un jour et prépara l'exécution de 80 sorcières; il partit sous la pluie, emmenant avec lui 20 jeunes gens d'élite, leur remit en main autant de vêtements blancs, qu'ils étaient chargés d'emporter chacun dans une marmite neuve fixée sur la tête, leur donnant l'ordre suivant: 'A mon premier cri (appel), vous vous couvrirez de ce vêtement; et à mon 2º cri vous entrerez tous à la fois, et aussitôt entrés, chacun de vous saisira une de ces femmes qu'il soulèvera de terre; car il est de règle en magie qu'une fois le sorcier soulevé de terre, il n'a plus de pouvoir.'

"Sur ce, Simon alla se présenter à la porte de la caverne, et dit : 'compagnes, ὁμοία, ouvrez-moi, puisque je suis des vôtres.' 'Comment se fait-il,' dirent-elles, 'que tu aies pu pénétrer jusqu'ici en un tel jour?' 'J'ai su (par sortilège) passer entre les gouttes d'eau (sans me mouiller).' 'Et que viens-tu faire ici?' demandèrent-elles. 'Je viens apprendre, puis enseigner, car chacun fait ce qu'il peut.' Chacune alors opéra à sa façon; l'une par ses paroles put apporter du pain; l'autre prononça les mots (magiques) et apporta de la viande; une autre énonça de tels mots et apporta des légumes; une autre encore, agissant de même, apporta du vin. 'Et que sais-tu faire?' demandèrent-elles. 'Je sais, en poussant 2 appels, dit-il, vous amener 80 beaux jeunes gens, qui se réjouiront de vous avoir, et vous aurez de la joie avec eux.' 'Nous voulons bien les recevoir, dirent-elles. Il poussa un cri, et les jeunes gens revêtirent le costume blanc; au 2º cri, ils entrèrent tous à la fois, et il commanda que chacun se choisisse une compagne, qu'ils enlevèrent,

^{*} Nachträge zum Neuhebr. u. chald. Wörterbuch von Jac. Levy, II, p. 559.

 $[\]dagger$ Talmud de Jérusalem, tr. $\mbox{\it Haghiga}$, II, p. 2 (traduction française, T. VI, p. 279).

puis ils partirent et les crucifièrent. C'est pourquoi il a été enseigné:* il est arrivé à Simon B. Schetaḥ de pendre 80 femmes à Ascalon."

II.

Dans les fouilles archéologiques dont la Chaldée a été le théâtre en ce siècle, on a retrouvé, à côté d'objets se rapportant à l'antiquité chaldéenne et à l'époque de la domination des Arsacides, des Sassanides, et des Arabes, des monuments juifs du moyen âge, qui méritent particulièrement de fixer l'attention. Parmi ces monuments figure une collection de vases en terre cuite, avec inscriptions, qui dévoilent un des côtés les plus intéressants de l'histoire des colonies juives installées sur les ruines de Babylone après la conquête de Jérusalem par les Romains. Ces vases hémisphériques. assez grossièrement façonnés au tour, et dépourvus de tout intérêt artistique, ont été tous jusqu'ici découverts dans les environs de Hillah, c'est-à-dire, sur l'emplacement même de Babylone, dans le quartier qu'on croit avoir été assigné comme résidence aux Juifs pendant la captivité. C'est à l'intérieur, sur la surface concave, que se trouve écrite à l'encre, circulairement, l'inscription magique destinée à mettre en fuite les démons, et à préserver de certaines maladies celui qui buvait le liquide versé dans la coupe.

La langue dans laquelle sont conçues ces formules d'incantation, est généralement celle des Targums de Babylone; l'écriture est le plus souvent l'hébreu carré, affectant des formes plus ou moins éloignées des formes de l'écriture actuelle, suivant l'ancienneté du monument. Quelques autres vases portent des inscriptions en caractères syriaques estranghelo, rédigées en un dialecte qui se rapproche du mendaïte; il en est aussi d'arabes.

Le British Museum est très riche en vases judéo-babyloniens d'incantations magiques. Grâce aux obligeantes communications de feu Samuel Birch, l'éminent conservateur du Département des Antiquités orientales, nous avons compté plus de vingt-trois de ces coupes, dont les dimensions varient depuis onze centimètres sept millimètres ($4\frac{n}{8}$ inches), et douze centimètres ($4\frac{n}{8}$ inches), jusqu'à quarante-et-un centimètres deux millimètres. En outre, nous avons remarqué un grand nombre de fragments brisés, non encore classés, et dont quelques-uns, rapprochés, pourraient probablement servir

^{*} Talmud Babli, tr. Synhédrin, f. 45b; voir Derenbourg, Essai sur la Palestine, p. 69.

à reconstituer des vases complets. Les inscriptions sont tantôt en lettres hébraïques (hébreu carré), tantôt en lettres syriaques (cursif et estranghelo), tantôt enfin en arabe.

Sur l'un des fragments à inscription hébraïque, nous avons pu facilement déchiffer la principale prière de la liturgie judaïque: Schemá Israel, Adonaï Elohénou, Adonaï eḥad: "Écoute, Israel, l'Éternel est notre Dieu, l'Éternel est un." (Deut. vi, 4.) C'est la profession de foi religieuse de l'Israélite, qui est non seulement récitée dans la prière quotidienne plusieurs fois par jour, mais encore dans des circonstances particulièrement solennelles, comme à l'issue du jour du Grand-Pardon, ou au chevet d'un mourant.

Parmi les vingt-deux vases parfaitement intacts conservés au British Museum, il en est quatorze qui y sont entrés depuis un certain temps déjà et qui proviennent des premières fouilles archéologiques dont la Chaldée a été l'objet. Dans ces quatorze il faut comprendre les six qui sont d'écrits dans l'ouvrage de M. Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* (pp. 509–526). Voici d'ailleurs l'énumération sommaire de toutes ces coupes magiques:—

- 1. Vase ainsi numéroté: 51 10-9 L'inscription est aujourd'hui à peu près complètement fruste.
- 2. 10-9 Publié par M. Layard sous le No. 1; sera décrit ci-après, au chap. iii, rubrique A, dans la révision que nous faisons de l'inscription.
- 3. (Le No. d'ordre manque; sans doute 97?) L'inscription, qui avait quatorze lignes, est presque complètement fruste.
- 4. 10-9 L'inscription est également si fruste qu'elle n'est plus déchiffrable.
- 5. 10-9 L'inscription, qui avait quatorze lignes, n'est plus déchiffrable aujourd'hui.
- 6. 10-9 Publié par M. Layard, sous le No. 2; sera décrit ciaprès, au chap. iii, rubrique B.
- 7. 10 9 Ce vase parait semblable au précédent; mais l'inscription est à peine lisible aujourd'hui.

- 8. Marqué N (=Nimroud) 1560. On peut seulement recueillir quelques mots épars de l'inscription complètement fruste dans certaines parties.
- 9. (Sans marque). Ce vase est très grand. On voit une inscription d'une ligne et demie au bord extérieur, et de 10 à 12 lignes à l'intérieur, à peu près illisibles.

Nous ferons remarquer en passant que les deux vases précédents ont des dimensions telles qu'on ne peut guère les considérer simplement comme des coupes à boire; ce sont de grands bols, ou plutôt des marmites. Il ne faut pas oublier, au surplus, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, que souvent il ne suffisait pas pour le patient de boire une partie du liquide contenu dans la coupe. L'officiant en repandait parfois avec la main, soit sur le malade, soit autour de lui, ou même en aspergeait toute la maison.

- 10. 7^{-26}_{90} L'inscription qui recouvre ce vase est en syriaque. M. Layard l'a donnée sous le No. 6.
- 11. Vase marqué L. L'inscription, en hébreu carré, a dix-sept lignes; mais le vase est trop mutilé pour qu'elle puisse offrir un sens suivi.
- 12. 4-73 L'intérieur de cette coupe est partagé en quatre colonnes; à l'extérieur se trouvent encore six lignes d'écriture. Un trop grand nombre de passages sont oblitérés pour que les inscriptions puissent être comprises dans leur ensemble.
- 13. Vase avec une inscription arabe d'une seule ligne placée au milieu d'un double cercle; l'écriture anguleuse resemble assez aux caractères coufiques ou mendaïtes.

Vase avec une inscription arabe de sept lignes, dont une au centre forme une formule à part. Il sera question plus loin de cette inscription, sous la lettre J du chap. iii.

Huit autres vases sont entrés récemment au British Museum ; ils proviennent, comme les précedents, des environs de Ḥillah, qui paraît avoir été, ainsi que nous l'avons déjà dit, la métropole de la fabrication de ces poteries inscrites. Ces vases n'avaient pas encore reçu de numéros de catalogue au moment où nous les avons étudiés. Ce sont :—

1. Un bol assez creux et affectant la forme d'une petite terrine. A l'intérieur, au milieu, on voit un dessin qui représente une plante à quatre branches; sur la paroi sont deux inscriptions séparées par

une ligne circulaire fermée. Celle du fond contient huit lignes; celle du haut n'en a que six. Une seconde ligne circulaire laisse entre cette inscription et le bord du vase, un espace qui n'est occupé que par ces mots : *Amen, Amen, sela, sela.*

- 2. Un vase contenant deux inscriptions syriaques; celle du fond a douze lignes, frustes dans certaines parties; celle du haut a six lignes, dont trois sur la paroi extérieure du vase; entre les deux, un cercle linéaire.
- 3. Un vase contenant une inscription en estranghelo de seize lignes; cette inscription offre cette particularité, qu'elle commence au centre du vase, où se trouve en outre un petit cercle à l'encre. A l'extérieur on lit ces mots tracés en travers:

לבו ע בן דש אנ * (ב ?ס בר חסדה)

C'est le nom du possesseur du vase, celui pour lequel l'inscription a été faite. Nous verrons plus loin que sur ces amulettes on inscrivait généralement le nom du personnage qu'on voulait exorciser ou guérir.

- 4. Un vase de dimensions plus qu'ordinaires, mais brisé en deux places.
- 5. Un vase contenant une inscription de douze lignes, bien complètes, dont trois à l'extérieur. Au centre intérieur se trouve la saillie ou ombilic, signalée sur d'autres monuments (cf. ci-après E).
- 6. Un vase renfermant intérieurement un texte assez court, que nous commentons plus loin vous la rubrique H.
- 7. Un vase renfermant une formule hébraïque, dans laquelle nous relevons ces mots qu'on lit couramment : —

ייי אמן סלה בשום גבריאל מלאכה וחאמיאל מלאכה ונטריאל מלאכה וגבריאל מלאכה ומיכאל מלאכה ורפאל [מלאכה] חטטריאל אוסרא רבא

- "... Amen, Sela. Au nom de Gabriel l'ange, † de Ḥamiel l'ange, de Nabriel l'ange, de Gabriel l'ange, de Michael l'ange, de Raphael [l'ange‡], de Ḥattabriel, le grand. . . . (?) esprit, ou démon.\$. . ."
- * Cette dernière lettre, cassée, est incertaine; en supposant un 7, on a un nom à tournure araméénne.
- \dagger La lettre $\overline{\sqcap},\ \grave{a}$ la fin du mot, est une faute d'orthographe, comme il y en a souvent dans ces textes vulgaires.
 - ‡ Le mot du texte entre [] est un peu fruste.
 - § Littéralement, celui qui lie (l'esprit du mal).

8. Un petit vase peu profond, et plus semblable à un couvercle qu'à un bol. L'inscription, qui avait dix lignes, est assez fruste; elle commence au centre; on lit à la troisième et à la quatrième lignes:

אמן אמן סלח אפרוק ממיך רוחין בישנן ומן חרשין בישנן ומן נידרי ומן חטאתא ומן אשימא

"Amen, Amen, Sela. Qu'ils se séparent de toi les mauvais esprits et tes mauvais sortilèges. . . . Sois délié des vœux, des sacrifices* et des expiations."†

C'est une formule qui, ainsi que nous le constaterons plus loin, est fréquemment usitée sur ce genre de monuments. Au reste, à part quelques variantes de peu d'intérêt, les inscriptions de ces vases judéo-chaldéens ne sortent pas de trois ou quatre formules qu'il nous suffira d'étudier en détail pour donner une idée exacte et précise de ces monuments. Prendre l'un après l'autre chacun de ces vases pour en commenter le texte, nous exposerait à des redites superflues ; il nous a suffi de relever dans ces textes des variantes paléographiques qui ont assuré le déchiffrement, ou des variantes soit de mots, soit de membres de phrases, qui ont éclairci le sens général. croyons donc que les critiques les plus difficiles seront satisfaits par la transcription et la traduction justifiée que nous allons donner de huit des principales formules magiques relevées sur ces vases judéochaldéens: ces huit formules nous donnent certainement, au point de vue philologique, le vocabulaire à peu près complet de ces textes, qui renferment d'ailleurs nombre de passages obscurs. Ce vocabulaire constituera la conclusion finale de notre travail.

III.

A. Le plus ancien monument qui dans Layard a le No. 1, porte une inscription qui se déroule en spirale sur la paroi intérieure du vase, allant du centre à la circonférence. Voici la lecture qu'en a donnée J. M. Lévy:

- * Le mot שמח signifie d'abord, péché, puis par dérivation, sacrifices de péché.
- † Le parallélisme nous fait supposer qu'il s'agit du mot Du'N, qui par dérivation a le même sens que le terme précédent.
- ‡ Zeitschrift d. Deut morgenl. Gesellschaft, T. IX, pp. 465, etc. Comp. D. Chwolson, Corpus inscriptionum hebraicarum. (S. Pétersbourg, 1882, fol. 1, pp. 103-20.)

הדין גיטא לשידא' ולרוחין בולסטנה ולניריך ולזריה' ולאבטור טורא ול[דנ...ש] וליליתא' דיבטלין מן בהרך ולאבטור טורא ול[דנ...ש] וליליתא' דיבטלין מן בהר דברא" יצפנדרמיד ומן ביתה כול יה אלאים " טב גדע" מלכיהון "דשידי ודדויי" שליטא רבה דליליתה משבענא" עלכי הבסלם "ליליתה בת ברתה" הדורני ליליתא אם דכר "אם נוקבא משבענא עלכי" סלי לבכון ובמורניתה דתיקף "גיברא הוא שליט על שידין עלי ליליתא הא בת ביקבלון הא הא בעלית יתכון מינה ומן ביתה דבהרן דוך בתניון דוך ומן ברה כמא דכתבין שידין גיטין ויהבין לינשיהון ותוב לא הדרין עליהון שקול גיטיכון וקבילו כתבתכון ופוקו וברחו ועיריקו ואיזלו מן ביתה דבהרן דוך בתניון דוך בשום הוהי והיהו טטם אתוני בקיבלון קמיה דתיקף גיברא ובעזקתו והיהו טטם אתוני בקיבלון קמיה דתיקף גיברא ובעזקתו התימן לידע ליתן שם לטב שרגה" אמן אמן אמן סלח.

TRADUCTION.

"Voici un acte de divorce* au démon, aux esprits, à Satan, à Niriek, à Zariah, à Abtour-Toura, à Dan et à Lilith. Puissentils disparaître de la localité de Bahran, de celle de Bethunyan, du Bahr du désert, du Espandarmid, de toute la maison. Ô Eternel bon, brise le roi des démons et des Dew, la puissance grande de Lilith; je t'en conjure Lilith, petite-fille de la belle Lilith, soit mâle, soit femelle, je te conjure Qu'il se détourne, votre cœur, et par le sceptre de l'homme puissant qui domine sur les démons, sur Lilith, cette fille qui est dans les ténèbres. Ah! Ah! je vous annule (repousse) de là, de la maison de Bahran-localité, et de celle de Bethunian, ainsi que des alentours. Comme les démons écrivent des actes de divorce et les remettent à leurs femmes, et celles-ci ne reviennent plus auprès d'eux, ainsi, prenez votre acte de divorce, recevez votre douaire écrit, et sortez, fuyez, hâtez-vous, et quittez la maison du lieu de Bahran, du lieu Bethunian, au nom de Dieu l'Eternel . . . Allez aux ténèbres, devant l'homme puissant, scellé de son anneau, pour que l'on sache qu'ils n'y sont plus. Que ce soit là une bonne lumière. Amen, amen, amen, Sela."

^{*} En signe de répulsion.

NOTES.

- r. Dans le mot אייי ; il faut reconnaître l'expression assyrienne sedi, qui désigne également les génies et les démons. Les sedi et les lamassi sont, dans les inscriptions cunéiformes, les lions et les taureaux ailés à tête humaine, qui gardaient l'entrée des temples et des palais. La Bible paraît les avoir désignés sous le nom de Keroûbîm (Babelon).
- 2. La lecture du mot ולרוחין est douteuse pour M. Lévy. La lettre lue דן ressemble en effet plutôt à un y, et le manque sur le monument à la fin du mot. Cependant le contexte et les inscriptions similaires exigent cette lecture; en outre l'expression שידין ורוחין est fréquemment usitée dans les livres rabbiniques.
- 3. Le mot רלניריך, lu par M. Lévy, n'est peut-être pas certain; car le génie ou démon Niriek n'est mentionné nulle autre part. Il faut sans doute substituer à ce mot une autre expression désignant le dieu Nisrok des Assyriens, ou plutôt le Nerig (Nergal) des Mendaïtes. L'original parait omettre le après le : il semble qu'il y ait דלבריך; mais cette variante orthographique ne modifie pas le sens, d'autant plus qu'il ne faut pas demander une orthographe rigoureuse à ces inscriptions.
- 4. Le mot רלוריד, que M. Ellis avait lu רלוריד, est lui-même douteux. La quatrième lettre, dans laquelle nous voyons un א, ne ressemble pourtant pas aux autres של de l'inscription. Quant à l'explication du mot דריד, donnée par M. Lévy, elle parait fort conjecturale à Chwolson, qui ne réussit pourtant pas à lui en substituer une meilleure. Il faut sans doute chercher à identifier ce mot avec le nom d'un des génies du panthéon mendaïte. Si l'on pourait lire אוריד, il faudrait y voir le personnage céleste désigné dans le Sidra rabba sous le nom de Zivo.
- 5. Le texte original porte très clairement מבטר, et ce mot parait suivi de טורא, les lettres étant assez frustes. M. Chwolson élève des doutes sur ces lectures, et il pense que ni l'un ni l'autre de ces deux mots ne peuvent être des noms de génies ou de démons. Mais nous croyons que c'est à tort. Dans le Sidra rabba et les autres livres des Mendaïtes, on trouve mentionné fréquemment un génie du nom de Abatour, qui correspond bien au סוביור אבטור שוביור. C'est certainement ce même génie qui joue un grand rôle dans la mythologie mendaïte, dont M. Siouffi, sous la dictée de son interlocuteur, a orthographié le nom Avather, et qui nous

est dépeint comme le juge suprême des âmes.* Le mot אבטור signifie *Pater taurus*; le scribe a répété le nom, en supprimant la seconde fois la particule אב , pater.

- 7. Au commencement du mot אולילות, le scribe a omis par erreur la marque initiale du datif ל.‡ On connait les démons mâles et femelles que la Bible (Is. xxxiv, 14) appelle Séirim et Lilith, dont le nom a persisté jusque dans les livres des Mendaïtes.§

Le nom de Lilith est facilement reconnaissable dans le de notre texte, et peut-être que le mot effacé qui précéde n'est autre que celui de Séirim. Dans la mythologie mendaïte le bon génie Sarniel éloigne du lit des femmes en couches les mauvais génies Lelioto.

^{*} Siouffi, Etudes sur la religion des Soubbas, chap. xxiii, xxv, et passim. אבחור אבטור, en mendaïte (voir Kohut, dans Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, T. IV, No. 4, article: Angelologie und Dämonologie, p. 82) pour טור, signifiant mont.

[†] V. Journal asiat., 1867, t. x, pp. 88, 92, 91, et surtout, p. 162. J. H. Mordtmann, Der Semitische Apollo, dans la Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft, 1878, T. XXXIII, pp. 554 et seq.

[‡] Sans doute par suite de la succession des trois L.

[§] Il est curieux de noter que n' c' est devenu en arabe L', dame, avec un sens respectueux; il apparaît dans les noms de lieux, avec la signification de Dame vénérée, sainte. Ainsi, Lalla Maghnia dans la province d'Oran; le tombeau de Lalla Manoubia près de Tunis; la Koubba de Lella Gouraya près de Bougie, province d'Alger; Lalla Khadidja, le pic le plus élevé du Jurjura (2308 m.); Lalla Magnia où tenait garnison un Numerns Syrorum, ville bâtie à 10 kil. N.E. de la frontière marocaine; Lalla Sitti, construit dans la banlieue de Tlemcen. Voir Vocabulaire arabe-françois des principanx termes de Géographie, par le général Parmentier, p. 32; Cherbonneau, Légende territoriale de l'Algérie, Revue de Géographie, T. X, 1882, p. 279.

^{||} V. Norberg, Codex Nazareus, T. II, p. 197; T. III, p. 159.

les *Séirim* et les *Leliots* la perpétuation de la croyance aux démons incubes et succubes qui tiennent une si grande place dans la démonologie des Chaldéo-Babyloniens.*

- 8. Le mot דיבטלין, étant au pluriel, se rapporte par conséquent à tous les génies énumérés plus haut.
- 9. Le mot בהרן désigne certainement le nom d'une localité ou d'un lieu. Dire qu'il est situé dans le bourg ou le district de Tunioun (?) nous paraît téméraire. L'identification géographique actuelle, dans la basse Chaldée, n'en est guére possible.‡ Dans le nord de la Mésopotamie il existe une localité appelée בעבן, en arabe , avec laquelle le nom mentionné dans notre texte ne peut avoir aucun rapport.
 - 10. Le membre de phrase:-

בהר דברא יצפנדרמיד ומן ביתה כול

offre des difficultés de lecture et d'interpretation. Il n'est pas sûr que le premier mot soit בהר plutôt que בהר, et l'original n'est d'aucun secours pour élucider ce point de paléographie. Qu'est ce que le בהר du désert? C'est peut-être le souffle, l'esprit. Dans ce cas on pourrait rapprocher ce mot du mot mendaïte bouro, qui signifie génie.

Le sens du mot דברא (désert) est bien certain, mais rien n'indique s'il faut poncteur dabro ou debro (du déhors).

L'explication du mot יצפנדרמר, à supposer que la lecture soit indubitable, est fort difficile. J. M. Lévy le rapproche du persan lundi; mais Chwolson n'accepte point cette explication ingénieuse. D'après l'interprétation de Lévy, toute la phrase dirait: "Puisse Lilith disparaitre du lieu de Behran, de la localité de Bethanyoun, du Bahr des déserts, au Espandarmid (c'est à-dirè, le lundi, jour ainsi nommé en persan) et de toute ma maison." Les objections de Chwolson portent sur ce que le mot Espandarmid romprait toute la suite de la phrase; il devrait se trouver après le mot אונים לינים לינים

^{*} Fr. Lenormant, Les Origines de l'Histoire, T. I, p. 320.

[†] De la racine בהר (briller), vient בהר, le brillant. Serait-ce la planète Mercure?

^{‡ &}quot;A Bethunian" rappelle, par assimilation, la Batanée.

endroit quelconque, comme les mots qui précédent, ou bien une personne, un objet dont il s'agit d'éloigner les démons. Dans l'inscription du vase coté C, nous verrons qu'il est dit: "Puissent les sorcelleries être éloignées, des localités, des demeures, des animaux domestiques, des propriétés, etc." Le texte dont il s'agit ici doit contenir une formule analogue. En considérant que les gutturales, comme d'autres lettres d'une même classe parentes par la prononciation, permutent souvent entre elles dans le dialects de la basse Chaldée, בתרה בהר בול signifie sans aucun doute, "de toute la maison," ou "de toute sa maison."

11. Le N médial est une faute d'orthographe, pour 7.

12. Chwolson croit devoir lire גרש, qui, avec le sens propre de "chasser, mettre en fuite, expulser," conviendrait peut-être mieux au

sens général.

13. Pour מלכיהון דשידי, que Lévy traduit par "le roi des Schédim," Chwolson voudrait traduire par le pluriel "les rois." A notre avis, il ne faudrait pas ici prendre à la lettre les matres lectionis, et le singulier pourrait subsister malgré la présence du , puisque cette présence n'yaffecte en rien le singulier du mot גיברא (v. ci-après, note 18).

14. Chwolson ne veut pas non plus admettre la lecture , "et des Dews," mettant en question la lecture du troisième caractère 7. Après cette lettre, selon lui, il y en aurait une petite, un ק complètement négligé par Lévy. פען et en syriaque , et en syriaque exige un après le אילים, Le mot suivant אילים, souverain (et non souverameté), devrait, selon le sens adopté par Lévy, être précédé d'un 7; sans quoi, toute la phrase ne pourrait pas être traduite comme le veut Lévy: "que le roi des Schédim, des Dews, anéantisse le pouvoir de Lilith." Comme il n'y a pas non plus de conjonctif en tête de שליטא, le groupe de lettres lu pourrait être un verbe, probablement un impératif de היות, "repousse, domine," et le sur en serait le complément. Sans affirmer comment il faut lire ce mot. Chwolson exprime la conviction qu'on ne saurait le lire selon l'interprétation de Lévy, et que, par suite, la phrase entière n'a pas le sens adopté par ce dernier. En présence de ces hésitations de maîtres éminents, nous penchons dans le sens d'une sorte d'apposition entre ce membre de phrase et le précédent.

- 15. Ce mot commence certainement une autre phrase, ou l'idée essentielle de l'incantation.
- 16. Dans ce groupe de lettres, la lecture est incertaine pour les trois premières. . . . בבס. Il nous est impossible de donner un sens absolu à ce mot. Y voir une transcription mal orthographiée de בשלים (Absalom) nous paraît peu probable. Peut-être est-ce plutôt l'invocation 'O βασιλεύs (Ô roi [des esprits]? Notre terme a quelqu'analogie évidente avec מבהלים, pierre precieuse (version chaldéenne au Targoum de Jérusalem sur Nombres, ii, 10).
- 17. Lévy traduit: "petite fille de la belle Lilith." Chwolson ne croit pas ce sens exact. La lecture ברתח est douteuse, et les deux mots suivants devraient être lus, d'après Lévy,* דלילותה. Chwolson suppose au contraire dans י un impératif avec suffixe à la première personne du singulier. Mais comme il n'y a pas de signification certaine pour le groupe lu הבסלם, toute la phrase laisse à désirer.
- 18. Aux mots אם דכר אם נקבה, "soit mâle, soit femelle," commence une nouvelle phrase; ils se rapportent aux mauvais esprits, comme on peut le voir par comparaison avec l'inscription D, où se trouve un passage analogue:—

ומן רוח רעה זכר ונקבה

Il est impossible que ces membres de phrase se rapportent à précédent, qui est du féminin et du singulier.

- 19. Il faut lire χίνς, "sur toi;" la lettre suivante, lue par Lévy est probablement toute autre; il se peut, en tout cas, qu'elle fasse partie du groupe suivant non déchiffré, d'ailleurs par Lévy. Ce membre de phrase signifie: "Qui que tu sois (démon), homme ou femme, je te conjure. . . ."
- 20. Lévy traduit le mot מלים par détourner (comme effet de la crainte); Chwolson trouve ce sens inexact, אום signifiant partout mépriser, conspirer.
- 21. Les mots דתיקף גיברא "דתיק" faut bien les lire ainsi—ne peuvent pas signifier "de l'homme violent," selon Chwolson; sans quoi, il faudrait דגיברא הקיפא. Ce savant propose donc de traduire: "et avec la lance du il dominait sur les schédim."
- * Il ne faut pas oublier que le talmudique (control e control e co

- 22. Le sens des cinq derniers mots est obscur.
- 23. Chwolson trouve préférable de lire שרבה, c'est-à-dire, "pour le bien de sa famille."

B. Texte; Notes.

L'inscription que Layard donne sous le No. 2 (trad. Zenker, p. 395, et Pl. XX, B), a été ainsi transcrite par M. Jos. Halévy (Chwolson, *ibid.*, p. 115), sans traduction:—

דניהון ' די פתכרי ... י סטני ופתיכרי ולטתא אסרן כולהון מן מפירין ברחון דן נידי ולשתא כל פתיכרי דיכרין איסרתא' נוקבתא ופום כל בני אינשא" אסרן כלהון מן מפירין כרהין דן ויתחבן מן דן ויזלן כל עובדין יעל " משריניהון בשום הפכה הפיכה" סורה שמיה" הפיכו כוני" והפכו מזלי הפיכה שעוהון דכל בני אנשא חשדיה" לוטתא דאבא ודימא ודברתא ודכלתא ודחמתא שריא ⁴ דרחקה ודקרבה דקמה בדברא ודקמה במתא דקימא בדברא שריא" ודלט במתא שריה דעל ארח נפלא ודבירכה בפנא ובפומה לטא וארעא אתקיפויה אסר אנסא" לחתמא ליטתא דחדתא הא ודעתקא מן מחפירין כרחין "מן כול מדינתא" מלאכה דאית ליה חד עשר שמהן ססכלא סריח ככבא כוכבא סידריה הידריה עזביה 20 בתוֹקפא 21 ארקפא ארקפס למי (?) בנוריהון לכל דעבר על הנין סמהתא אילין אסרן וחתימן כל נידרי ולוטתא ופתירא " איסתרתא וכל רוחי ביש רוחא דזקן ודי זקנתא וכל חרשי ביש" ומעבדי נכים ונכיסי וכל מני מחבלן ואסרין כלהון מן מפירין כרהין דן ומן בנין בתכוך " חהדין 25 מני (מנן?) רתיחי ולטתי (?) ורתיחי וכל דלארעה קריא וכל דלישמיה מטיתא שמעת מן הדין עלמא קל איתתא ד . ד ולוטתא ושפר שריה עלה מלכן .. דתקים נקמא ינגיל ניגלאין יאא יסם ידי ודאיתתא דליטא ושרי לקיטרה

- r. Le premier mot, דניהון, a sans doute le même sens que le syrïaque נבו, voisinage (avec suffixe), qui a probablement pour verbe : אכרן, soient liés (interdits).
- 2. A cette place l'original a quatre lettres; la première est peutêtre un , qui appartiendrait par conséquent (comme finale) au mot précédent. La deuxième est avec certitude un . Les deux suivantes, peu claires, paraissent constituer une répétition anticipée, par mégarde, des lettres בם, qui suivent. On pourrait donc lire: , démons et satans.
- 3. Il faut peut-être lire ici : ופתיכרתי, ce qui peut désigner des démons femelles.
- 4. L'original a ici מפכרין, par transcription fautive de puisque l'on retrouve deux fois l'expression (à expliquer note 5). Du reste, ce membre de phrase se retrouve mot-à-mot une ligne plus bas. Ce premier mot peut se traduire : "qui détruisent."
- 5. Tout en transcrivant ce mot כרחין, M. Halévy met un point dubitatif sur le ה: ce mot pourtant se retrouve jusqu'à trois fois dans la suite, et M. Halévy lit une fois ה, avec ה, confusion très plausible. M. Chwolson admet cette dernière lecture, et combat le sens de "maladies fiévreuses;" pour lequel, selon lui, il faudrait כרחין מפירין, et il préfère les traduire dans le sens de "qui enflamment des maladies," c'est-à-dire, qui les provoquent. L'on a dû employer avec intention le terme enflammer, parceque, pour le vulgaire, la fièvre est l'indice le plus formel de l'existence d'une maladie. Inutile de rappeler la conjecture inadmissible d'Ellis à ce sujet, dans Layard (p. 515, note).
- 6. Le mot נידי est évidemment apparenté avec le talmudique anathème, qu'il faut prendre ici dans le sens plus étendue de malédiction, d'anathème.
- 7. Il faut peut-être lire דיכרי ואיסרתא. T'après le contexte, איסרתא semble désigner quelque chose d'analogue à בתיכרי, , "... et comme il résulte de la phrase [י] איסתרתא וכל רוחי ביש"ן, "... et tous mauvais esprits," placée un peu plus bas, איסתרתא a peut-être ici le sens de איסתרתא, agmina; mais la forme précitée איסתרתא dérive certes de la racine סתר, usitée en chaldéén avec le sens de renverser, détruire. On peut donc, par le mot איסתרתא, avoir voulu désigner des démons du sexe féminin, "qui ruinent, qui

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portent la dévastation, qui la provoquent." En rabbinique, on traduirait plus volontiers : "les cachés, invisibles."

- 8. La lecture des quatre derniers mots ne paraît pas sujette au doute, et ils doivent désigner les mauvaise paroles des hommes, par exemple, "les malédictions et les vœux de mal."
- 9. Le texte original n'a ici que les lettres יולן; mais le sens exige, qu'ils partent.
 - 10. Littéralement, "qu'ils montent," רעלו pour יעל.
- וו. Les deux המכה הפיכה sont douteux, comme les lettres בם le sont dans le premier הפכה, renversement. Le terme est redoublé pour plus d'intensité.
- 12. Mot difficile à expliquer. Kohut, ibid., p. 97, songe à épine. Serait-ce qu'il faut lire סרים, pourri, ce qui sent?
- 13. Le sens de בוני ou בוני est obscur; il pourrait y avoir ici le mot כוכבי, étoiles, à titre de parallèle des בוללי, planètes, qui suit. M. Sachs nous suggère l'ideé du שינור מקרם (déplacement), et propose de traduire: "que les directions (les itinéraires) changent, et les fortunes, les destinées, changeront."
- 14. La lecture השריה paraît certaine; mais le sens de ce mot dans cette phrase n'est pas clair. Faudrait-il lire השריה, se demande Chwolson? Il pourrait désigner quelque chose d'analogue au שריה, que l'on retrouve trois fois plus loin, à prendre dans le sens de délie, annule, renverse, écarte. Il est possible aussi que palmyréniennes on trouve aussi souvent ש (= שׁ) pour D (ct. Nöldeke, Zeitschrift des deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft, T. XXIV, 1870, p. 95). השריך dans le sens de invisit. Kohut, ibid. p. 94, a un mot השריך dans le sens de métal, également inapplicable ici.
 - 15. La lecture שריא est bien certaine ici : délie.
 - 16. Est aussi à lire שריא, soit délié.
- 17. Dans les onze derniers mots, il y a bien des doutes. Dans אין le y est incertain; car cette lettre resemble plutôt à un ש. Faut-il lire ce mot מבולים achève, ou affaiblis ? Quant au sens des mots mots חדבירכא בפנא, il est très obscur. Adoptant pour ce dernier mot le sens hommes, les précédents signifient-ils "du ruisseau" et "en face?"
 - 18. Faut-il lire ici מן מחפירין כרהין? (ק. note 5).

- 19. C'est peut-être מדיתנא, notre ville.
- 20. Le texte a עוביה, de la racine abandonner la puissance. Il n'est pas trop téméraire de lire עוביה, épaisseur, qui est bien chaldaïque.
- 21. C'est plutôt ברוקפא οι ברוקפא, puissance. Il est possible aussi que la première lettre soit un ב ; de cette façon, ce mot reçoit au moins une tournure sémitique. Le mot qui suit (répété) parait mal transcrit de ארגביא, un potentat (d'après ἀργιαπέτην, dignitaire), qui provient des mots persans (μυ τίταdelle, et μυ (pour μυ) chef, dit Fleischer, dans Lévy, Neu. Wört., I, 281a.
- 22. Peut-être a-t-il disparu là un ב, de sorte qu'il faudrait lire ce mot ובתיכרא, démons.
- 23. Des trois lettres du texte original, la dernière seule est certaine ; la première ressemble à un , et la deuxième à un .
- 24. Chwolson veut lire בנן וברתכון, fils et filles. Il y a aussi tous les éléments pour lire בתניון, Bathanyoun, de l'inscription A.
- 25. L'expression הדר, qui implique une conjonction (comme en arabe גגל, dans Qorân, XLI, 44, signifie amener, diriger), doit exprimer au contraire l'idée d'éloigner, si elle est suivie de la préposition בין, de.
- 26. Pour le mot מוי (? d'un radical מוי, filer), nous hésitons entre le sens d'obscurité et celui de supplication, insistance, de la racine מוה, pencher.
- 27. Il y a plusieurs doutes dans la dernière ligne.—Les lettres אאא sont l'abrégé, non de אבן, אבן, אבן (Amen, Amen), mais du nom sacré de la Divinité dont chaque appellation commence par א.

Finalement, revenons au second mot, קתכר, que l'on retrouve dans la version chaldéénne d'Isaïe viii, 21. Elle traduit ce verset : "Il méprise le nom de son idole et son faux dieu." Pour elle donc, de ce verset, est le dieu Molokh. (cf. Amos v, 26; Sofonia, i, 5.)

TRADUCTION.

"Que les voisinages des spectres (mâles) des démons et des spectres (autres), ainsi que des malédictions, soient tous interdits à ces fièvreuses maladies, savoir les repoussés et les maudits, tous les spectres mâles, les esprits ruinants femelles, et la bouche (mauvaises paroles) de tous les fils de l'homme, [qu'ils] soient tous interdits à ces fièvreuses maladies, qu'ils se cachent d'eux, qu'ils partent tous les opérateurs (de magie) et aillent dans leurs demeures (ou ligne droite), soit le nom du renversement de la destruction; son nom est sourah (le mal). Renversez-vous, étoiles; renversez-vous, planètes; soyez renversées les heures de tous les fils de l'homme, toutes les malédictions du père, de la mère, de la fille, de la belle-fille, de la bru; délie-les de près et de loin, celles qui se tiennent au dehors et celle qui se tiennent dans la localité, celles qui se tiennent au dehors, annule-les; celle qui maudit en ville, renverse-la, sur la voie de Nafla (la chute), ou sur le ruisseau, soit en face (en se tournant), soit au bord. La malédiction et la terre * (œuvre) du puissant, l'interdiction des hommes, qu'elles soient closes, qu'il s'agisse d'incantations nouvelles ou anciennes, de ces fièvreuses maladies dans toute la province; ô ange (esprit) qui a onze noms : la perdition de la mite, la pourriture, l'étoile, l'étoile (supérieure), l'ordre, l'éclat, l'épaisseur, la puissance, la domination, Arpax (? Lama), dans leur trame-A tous ceux qui passeront près de ces noms (près de ceux ainsi nommés), qu'ils soient interdits; qu'ils soient clos (annulés) les vœux, les malédictions et incantations (ou démons) d'interdits, tous mauvais esprits, esprits de vieux ou de vieilles, de tous ceux qui forgent le mal, des fabricants de sortilèges et sorcellerie, de toutes espèces d'êtres malfaisants. Qu'ils soient tous interdits à ces fièvreuses maladies (éloignés) de vos fils et de vos filles; détourne d'eux les fièvres (ce qui bout) et les malédictions, les accidents fâcheux (? émanations malsaines) du sol, tout ce qui a pour nom Matitha (l'obscur), qui écoute en ce monde la voix de femme D. d et l'imprécation. Que le précieux (le bon) réside sur elle d'entre vous, ... pour faire dresser ce qui doit être debout et découvrir ce qui doit être découvert, I.-A.-A.I.S.S. I.-I, Que la malédiction de la femme se dissipe en fumée. Amen. Amen, Amen."

C.

Ce texte, composé d'une spirale qui va de l'extérieur à l'intérieur, a été imprimé une première fois (de façon illisible) dans les *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* (T. II, p. 114), puis repris et corrigé dans une lecture académique par M. Joseph Halévy, enfin

^{*} Peut-être : ce qui est bas, vil, au ras du sol (la calomnie).

réédité par ce dernier dans ses Mélanges de critique et d'histoire (pp. 229 et suiv.). On va juger des modifications qui ont été adoptées:—

כל חרשין בישין ועובדין תקיפין ולוטתא ונודרי' ואשלמתא ומללתא' דרחיקין ודקריבין דליליא ודימאמא דגברי ודיאנשו' דעבדי ליה ודעבדין ליה לברהאיי' ולחיותייה ולקיניניה דכולו' היי בדלאלה מן יומא דין" עד עלם וכולהון אילין ואילין משמתין ומנודין גזורין ותבירין עקירין ומפקין ומבטלון מן גל חד מיקומותיהון."

ומן מדיתיהון דחיותיה ודברהאיי דעמיה⁶ בדלאלה על אורח חוצי⁶ איי כוכבא דהוא⁶ נציח מכל כוכביא דעלמי⁶ דמינא אסות ניהוא¹³ דהוא מלכה⁶ חרשי לחרשייא⁶ [מט]בין בישמיה דכרמסיסיה⁶ שמה רבא מפרש אמן אמן סלה⁶

TRADUCTION.

"Toutes mauvaises sorcelleries, grand'œuvres, malédictions, vœux, engagements, paroles inconsidérées, de loin et de près, la nuit ou le jour, d'hommes ou de femmes, qu'on a suscité contre les fils ou les animaux, ou les acquisitions de Belyehay fils de Lâla, depuis ce jour jusqu'à jamais. Que toutes ces choses, sans exception, soient anathématisées, bannies, exclues, brisées, arrachées, chassées, anéanties de leur corps et de chacune de leurs habitations, des animaux domestiques et des enfants de Belyehay fils de Lâla, sur la voie de Houci. Ô étoile, plus puissante que toutes les étoiles du monde, par laquelle le salut provient, qui es la reine de tous faiseurs de sortiléges, [bienfaiteurs] au nom de Karmesisia, nom sublime (et) ineffable. Amen, Amen, Sela."

Notes.

- 1. Le texte original a bien clairement ונידרי, avec , les vœux.
- 2. M. Chwolson ne partage pas l'avis de M. Halévy, dans l'observation de celui-ci que, selon la doctrine des Talmudistes, tout vœu non accompli peut amener des malheurs à la famille, et il ajoute: "Je crois que ces mots, placés à côté de דרשין בישין, et auxquels se rapporte aussi le verbe דעבדר, doivent

avoir un sens analogue à ceux qui viennent d'etre rapportés." Il faut donc comprendre par là certaines sortes de malédictions, d'objurgations, et de formules magiques.

- 3. La forme de l'N dans ce mot est très remarquable, tandis que dans le reste de l'inscription cette lettre a une apparence presque moderne. M. Halévy propose d'y voir une lettre erronnée, à supprimer.
- 4. M. Halévy lit לברהאיי, et traduit: "ses enfants." M. Chwolson ne croit pas cette version exacte: car la forme du mot, ainsi que l'absence du pronom suffixe à la fin, et de la conjonction au commencement, plaident contre cette hypothèse. Il croit donc que ברהאיי ou ברהאיי est un nom propre, probablement celui de la personne pour qui cette amulette a été écrite, et à laquelle se rapportent les suffixes des mots suivants.
- 5. M. Halévy a fini par voir dans ces mots un nom propre, après avoir lu: דבולי היי, et avoir traduit: "de n'importe quelle nature;" ce que Chwolson n'avait pas adopté, parce qu'il lit הוני קי, et lui donne la signification de "villages, localités." Cf. Levy, Chald. Wörterbuch zu den Targumin, I, p. 242, s.v. אוון דורוא III; Fleischer, Additions à ce passage; ibid., p. 424; Lévy, Neuhebr. Wörterb, II, p. 43, s.v. היירא, où l'on trouve aussi l'étymologie exacte de ce mot selon Fleischer. Le mot דלאלה doit désigner le nom d'une grande localité, ou d'un district, qui contenait ces villages. Chwolson n'admet pas la conjecture de M. Halévy, savoir que ce nom a quelqu'affinité avec l'arabe און, qui entrerait dans la composition de ce mot. Le Dict. Géogr. de Jaqout cite un lieu à l'ouest de l'Euphrate, entre און, du nom de בונה et בונה, du nom de בונה et בונה et בונה et בונה , du nom de presqu'avec notre mot.
 - 6. Le texte original a nettement דנן רעד, "de celui-ci jusqu'à."
- 7. En lisant אילון ואילין, le premier mot ces au masculin se rapporte à גברי, hommes, le second au fémmin à נאשי, femmes; soit : ceux et celles.
- 8. Les quatre derniers mots se trouvent écrits dans le texte entre les lignes. Dans מדיתורן, il ne faut voir ni les Mèdes, ni le mot mensonge, comme le voudrait ailleurs Kohut, ibid., p. 98.
- 9. M. H. lit: דברהוי דבליהיי; il traduit: "et ses enfants de Belyehay." Seules les cinq premières lettres du première mot sont

claires dans le texte; le reste est conjectural. Chwolson donne au première mot le sens d'un nom propre (comme à la No. 4), sans se prononcer sur la lecture du mot suivant.

- ro. M. H. après avoir (une première fois) rappellé le célébre il, adopte le nom propre Hiciel; le Dict. Géogr. de Jaqout parle d'une localité dite المنان, sise dans le voisinage de par conséquent au cœur même de la Mésopotamie. Au lieu de cela, il n'y a qu'à rappeler la localité talmudique Houci ou Houcia du Talmud Jérus., tr. Schebiith, viii, 5 (trad. T. III, p. 405).
 - וו. Peut-être faut-il lire ici דריא: "Ô étoile de la vie."
- 12. Le mot דעלמץ est douteux; on s'attend à voir דעלמא, et d'ailleurs le texte a plutôt דעליח, d'en haut.
- 13. M. H. traduit les trois derniers mots: "source de guérisons," en ajoutant un? dubitatif. On peut lire le premier mot אַרְעִינָא (d'où), bien que les lettres בי et ב aient ici une forme autre que dans tous les passages de cette inscription. La troisième lettre dans אַסוֹר ressemble plutôt à un בּ qu'à un (par homonymie). Le mot אַסוֹר pourrait bien ici avoir le même sens que אַסוֹר et אָסוֹר , salut; mais on s'attend plutôt au mot אַסוֹר ; alors le masculin ביהוא ne s'y adapte plus. M. Chwolson déclare ne pas savoir expliquer ce passage, mais il croit pouvoir affirmer que le sens adopté par M. H. n'est pas conforme au texte.
- 14. Au lieu de מלכה, reine, il faut peut-être lire : מלפה, celle qui enseigne (la maîtresse).
- 15. Le texte a להרשויא. Mais le sens est probablement le même que celui de להרשויא, aux sortilèges.
- 16. La lecture de ce mot pour בבר est mise en doute par M. H. lui-même. Le sens de la dernière phrase est obscur.
- 17. A la fin, il y a une ligne de lettres isolées, de pà D, qui n'offrent pas de sens, et ne doivent sans doute pas en avoir. Elles appartiennent aux formules de conjuration. N'est-ce pas un cri final, une onomatopée de gutturales et de sifflantes, usitées à la chasse?

D.

Enfin, une des plus courtes inscriptions est aussi des plus jeunes; eu égard aux pointes supérieures encore maintenues sur quelques lettres, ainsi qu'en raison de la forme du , elle ne doit

pas être postérieure au IVe ou au Ve siècle. Le caractère de cette écriture est nettement plus ancien que sur les papyrus trouvés au Fayoum. Cette réserve faite, voici la transcription de M. Halévy (dans Chwolson, p. 113), sans traduction. Le même texte forme le No. 5 dans Layard:—

מימ (?) יין מן שמיא חתום ונחתם "קמיעה דין במיא מירשומיה" ליקרי ליקרי וליפוקי יתיה ולכל דדירין במיא מירשומיה" ליקרי ליקרי וליפוקי יתיה ולכל דדירין ביה מן נידרי ומן שיקיפתא" ומן חרשי ומן לוטתא ומן מיא פסיקי (?) ומן מיא עריבי" ומן בעי מריראתא ומן כול מיני דעבידין ודלא עבידין ומן רוח רעה זכר ונקבה ומן עיין רעה ומן כשפים כשפי איש ואשה בשום בבנעא" ממביעא אימיא לחנוך (?) צי יינח יעדן יימלים אלין דידיהון מסמין קבל קוס קוס וחושך ערפל אונה" שימיה יישמיא אמן אמן הלה

Notes.

- 1. Des six premières lettres presqu'effacées la première pourrait être un 8.
- 2. Ce mot est peut-être à lire מחתם, également de la racine sceller.
- 3. Ellis (dans Layard) lit les trois derniers mots דטבית, lecture graphiquement possible (bien que la fin soit plutôt הובה). Ce dernier mot a pu être pris dans le sens "d'agissant avec force," de la racine רשה, comme le comprend aussi Ellis; cf. Lévy, Chald. Wörterbuch, II, p. 437 et seq.
 - 4. Cf. ci-dessus, Note 2, à l'inscription C.
- 5. Ellis traduit ce mot par sorcery, sens qu'il peut avoir d'après le contexte; son étymologie est inconnue. N'est-ce pas un dérivé de אָרָה, voir, envisager (du mauvais œil)?
- 6. Le sens isolé est compréhensible; c'est celui d'agréable. Mais, comme ce sens est opposé aux expressions précédentes et suivantes, on se trouve peut-être ici devant un mot qui n'est pas chaldéén, mais hébreu: mélange.
- 7. Probablement deux noms d'anges (la fin N pour), ou dénominations cabalistiques des forces surnaturelles qui sont in-

voquées ici. Le second terme peut signifier "Source de l'eau." Les deux mots suivants peuvent se traduire mot-à-mot: "la mère de Hénoch." Mais comment adopter ici ce sens? Puis, des lacunes, dont quelques lettres subsistent seules.

- 8. Littéralement : qui sont, דידיהן (avec redoublement erronné de la première syllabe די, nommés.
- 9. Terme dérivé (comme fort souvent à cette époque) du grec öyros, charge, masse pesante, dont un brouillard épais est le symbole dans l'air. Ce sens cadre, comme parallèle, avec le contexte.

TRADUCTION.

"... Eau ... Cette amulette, de par le ciel, est scellée et cachetée; cette amulette-ci est désignée (particularisée) par l'eau contre les accidents (fâcheux), afin de délier (libérer) lui (le possesseur du présent) et tous ceux qui demeurent avec lui (les siens), des vœux, des visions (pernicieuses), des sorcelleries, des imprécations, de l'eau coupée (infestée), de l'eau mélangée (impure), des désirs (sources) d'amertume, de toutes sortes d'agents, actifs ou passifs, des mauvais esprits, soit mâles, soit femelles, du mauvais ceil, des sortilèges accomplis par des hommes ou par des femmes, au nom de Babnea et de Mambea. Ceux dont les mains empoisonnent, devant les bois et les forêts, dont le nom (représente) les ténèbres, le brouillard, l'obscurité, de par le ciel. Amen, Amen, Sela."

Observations Générales : paléographie, linguistique. (Sur A, B, C, D.)

Le contenu des quatre premières amulettes n'est pas tout-à-fait identique. La pièce A est un préservatif contre les diverses espèces de démons et de mauvais esprits des deux sexes qui sont en partie désignés nominalement; on exprime en même temps le vœu qu'ils restent éloignés d'un certain lieu. La pièce B contient aussi une formule d'objurgation contre les démons et satans, qui suscitent des maladies, mais en même temps contre les malédictions, les maléfices, et contre tous ceux qui effectuent les maux et causent des dommages. A cet effet, on invoque le secours d'un ange notoirement bon, qui porte onze noms différents. La pièce C contient une adjuration, non contre les mauvais esprits, mais contre diverses sortes de magies, de maléfices, qui, de loin ou de près,

par des hommes ou des femmes, pourraient être exercées ou énoncées contre le possesseur de l'amulette et contre son bien. A ce propos, selon la manière foncièrement païenne et babylonienne, on paraît avoir sollicité l'influence auxiliaire d'une puissante planète, peut-être celle de Jupiter, contre ces sortilèges. Dans la pièce D, on emploie le terme talmudique קמיעה pour désigner une amulette. On lui attribue presqu'une origine céleste, et elle doit protéger contre les malédictions, les maléfices, les sortilèges d'hommes ou de femmes, contre les mauvais esprits mâles et femelles, contre le mauvais œil, etc., en invoquant dans ce but deux très bons esprits ou des anges. Cette inscription contient aussi plus de mots hébreux que les autres, et elle a aussi plus de couleur juive que les autres pièces. On trouve en effet dans le Talmud (B., tr. Sabbat, 67) des formules d'adjuration avec des mots tout-à-fait inintelligibles et des noms invoqués contre diverses maladies et contre les mauvais esprits; quelques-unes de ces formules sont désignées comme païennes. Dans les notes à Jamblichus, de mysteriis Ægyptorum, Gale cite diverses formules d'adjuration en caractères grecs, composées de mots isolés qui n'ont aucun sens non plus :-

"Les gnostiques, les païens hellénisants, regorgeaient de textes incompréhensibles, en ce sens qu'ils étaient dépourvus de déterminations directes. Nous autres Europééns, nous en avons possédé dans le Moyen-âge; nous en avons encore aujourd'hui. Je dois à la bienveillante obligeance de M. Miller, dit feu Gobineau,* la communication de deux amulettes grecques que je copie ici:—

Βαρβαρος, βαρβαριζουσα, ζαβαχωρα, βαρβαρων πυρι, πυριτουμολε σώζε τὸν φοροῦντα.

"Pour produire tout son effet cette invocation doit être écrite sur papier. Mais l'autre sera vraiment puissante si elle est tracée sur une feuille d'étain et ainsi qu'il suit :

Xεντιματεφηκέν τέφρα γλυκαίνε.

"Ces deux exemples n'ont pas de sens appréciable, et proviennent certainement d'une source, d'une imitation et d'une corruption perso-araméenne."

Reste à savoir dans quels siècles nos documents ont été composés, car il va sans dire qu'ils appartiennent à des époques différentes. Pour déterminer la date d'un monument écrit, on a recours à trois moyens: le contenu, la langue, la forme des lettres.

* A. de Gobineau, Traité des Cunéiformes, II, p. 375.

Le contenu général de ces inscriptions peut se rapporter à n'importe quel siècle, être aussi bien écrit sous les Pharaons que de nos jours. De tout temps, soit parmi les nations civilisées, soit parmi les barbares et les sauvages, on a eu recours à des fétiches préservateurs du sort. Leur contenu spécial, ou forme externe, ne donne pas non plus d'indication précise pour déterminer leur date. A. Lévy, il est vrai, a cru pouvoir découvrir dans l'inscription A des éléments de parsisme et de mandaïsme; mais en réalité il est difficile de les y voir, et M. Chwolson s'y refuse. D'après ce qui a été dit plus haut, notes 7 et 10, sur cette pièce, il n'y aurait rien là du שניגו, ni des Dews. Le mot אפשור, se retrouve bien, sous la forme אבתור, chez les Meendaïtes; mais ceux-ci peuvent avoir seulement emprunté ce nom à la mythologie de Babylone, car tout leur système doctrinal est composé d'éclectisme. L'allusion trouvée par Lévy au sceau de Salomon est au moins très douteuse, et l'on ne peut en tirer aucune conclusion. Si effectivement on trouve dans ces inscriptions maintes idées superstitieuses, que l'on rencontre aussi dans le Talmud, cela ne prouve pas encore qu'elles lui sont contemporaines: ces idées n'appartiennent exclusivement ni au Talmud, ni à l'époque talmudique. Elles pourraient en consequence, par elles-mêmes, être soit plus anciennes, soit plus nouvelles, sans préciser d'avantage l'époque du document.

Au sujet de ces inscriptions, M. Renan dit dans son Histoire générale des langues semitiques (4° éd., p. 73, n. 1): "Les idées magiques et cabbalistiques qui s'y rencontrent et qui rappellent le livre d'Hénoch, feraient regarder ces inscriptions comme l'ouvrage des Gnostiques ou des Sabiens." M. Chwolson ne l'admet pas ; car les idées émises dans ces documents sont de la plus haute antiquité. Le ou les auteurs du livre d'Hénoch n'étaient pas non plus les créateurs des idées exprimées dans ce livre sur les bons et les mauvais esprits; ils ne l'étaient pas plus que ne le furent plus tard les Gnostiques. A ces derniers appartiennent seulement certaines formes externes de ces doctrines, qui constituent un héritage remontant aux temps les plus reculés. Feu Lenormant, se référant au passage précité de M. Renan, invoque également le vase analogue, trouvé par Layard (ibid., p. 521 et seq.) au sud de le Mésopotamie, contenant des formules de conjuration en langue et en écriture syriaque; il croit par suite que la plus ancienne des quatre inscriptions qui nous occupent ici remonte au IVe ou Ve siècle de J. C., et il ajoute: ".. c'est-à-dire, à l'époque de la grande école juive des bords de l'Euphrate, qui pro-

duisit le Talmud de Babylone." Il faut pourtant distinguer entre les dites inscriptions et les doctrines rabbiniques, qui sont loin d'être semblables. En ce qui concerne la dite inscription en syriaque, M. Chwolson la croit, d'après la forme des caractèrs, d'un temps plus ancien que le MS. syriaque de l'an 411 conservé au Musée britannique (cf. la planche d'écriture syriaque par le Professeur J. Euting, jointe à la Grammaire syriaque de Nöldeke, col. 6). Du reste, pour notre question, il importe peu de savoir la date à laquelle se rapporte l'inscription syriaque; cela n'empèche pas nos inscriptions en hébreu d'être de plusieurs siècles plus jeunes ou plus anciennes. On trouve un seul point, et encore pas tout-à-fait certain, dans l'inscription C, qui peut donner une indication pour la date: c'est que la planète soit invoquée, "qui est plus victorieuse (ou plus éclatante) que toutes les autres étoiles de l'univers." C'est là du pur paganisme, de l'idolâtrie, et non pas seulement un usage étranger, que défend même le Talmud. Un tel culte des astres dénote une époque où les doctrines sévères des rabbins n'avaient pas encore pénétré d'une façon générale dans la Babylonie méridionale, pour ce qui concerne les émanations doctrinales du paganisme et pour ce qui dérive de ses idées. Avant l'an 220 de J. C., une grande ignorance prédominait encore parmi les Juifs dans maintes contrées de la Babylonie, par rapport à diverses lois mosaïques. Mais à partir de l'an 220, les écoles supérieures y acquirent un grand éclat; le nombre des étudiants augumenta beaucoup, et les hommes placés à la tête de ces écoles s'eflorcèrent, avec une grande énergie, de propager la connaissance des lois parmi les Juifs de Babylone, en ayant non moins soin de faire exécuter avec sévérité les prescriptions religieuses. Donc, en raison de l'invocation adressée aux planètes, à supposer que ce soit bien là le sens du passage en question, M. Chwolson hésite fort à placer cette inscription au Ve siècle : et il est plutôt d'avis qu'elle remonte au IIIe siècle, ou au plus tard au IVe siècle. Si elle appartient à l'un de ces siècles, et tenant compte des circonstances paléographiques qui seront exposées plus loin, on est conduit forcément à placer l'inscription B, indubitablement plus ancienne, au IIº siècle, et l'inscription A, encore plus ancienne, au Ier siècle de l'ère chrétienne. On va voir que des motifs, tirés de la paléographie, conduisent également à adopter ces dates.

La langue de ces inscriptions est certainement parente de celle du Talmud; mais elle ne lui est pas identique. Beaucoup de mots ont un sens qu'ils n'ont jamais dans le Talmud, et de même l'orthographe, ainsi que la prononciation de plusieurs mots, est différente: par exemple, גיברא pour תיקף; pour חיקף; עיריקו pour עיריקו. L'orthographe prédominante de l'état emphatique terminé en 7, indice évident d'ancienneté, oblige de remonter assez haut, selon la remarque déjà faite par Lévy. Cet état emphatique se présente dans l'inscription de Sakkara, dans celle de Carpentras, dans celles du Hauran à l'époque d'Hérode; enfin dans celles de Palmyre, on trouve ce 7 seulement dans les pronoms et דנה,* et dans quelques noms propres composés avec עתה (cf. Nöldeke, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenl. Gesellschaft, T. XXIV, 1870, p. 87 et seq.). "Cependant," dit Lévy (ibid., p. 473), "des formes comme celles de לינשיהון, גיברא, militent en faveur d'une époque postérieure; même le i bref (Hiriq) est representé par une mater lectionis, , ce qui rappelle un mode scripturaire de décadence, tel qu'on le trouve chez les Talmudistes et chez les Mendaïtes." Mais, objecte M. Chwolson, comme nous ne possédons pas de plus anciens monuments litéraires Juifs que le Talmud, nous ne pouvons pas savoir quand cette orthographe s'est dévelopée chez les Juiss babyloniens. Du reste, Gibro au lieu de Gabro represente déjà une forme singulière, étonnante, et il ne faut pas oublier que ces inscriptions de conjuration ont été écrites par des ignorants et pour des ignorants, à qui l'on voulait sans doute faciliter cette lecture. Il paraît superflu à M. Chwolson de réfuter la conjecture de Lévy, que le nom de Dieu בהרן dans l'inscription B, et que doive avoir le même sens que l'arabe x à titre de désignation de l'Euphrate, d'où il tire la déduction de reculer l'inscription à l'époque qui a suivi l'invasion arabe. En tous cas, selon lui, cette conjecture est si peu fondée, qu'il serait trop hasardé d'en tirer des conséquences.

Comme élément essentiel pour fixer la date, reste la paléographie. M. Chwolson accuse Lévy de n'en avoir pas fait bon usage. Ce dernier n'avait pas encore d'autres monuments scripturaires en hébreu à utiliser comme terme de comparaison. On n'avait encore que les inscriptions palmyréniennes et le *Codex babylonicus* de l'an 916, dont il s'est servi (p. 478). C'était une grande lacune, laissant le champ libre à toutes les combinaisons. Déjà Lenormant et Euting ont eu un plus grand nombre de documents à collationner; et

^{*} De Voguë, Syrie centrale, ch. ii ; Haouran, No. 1, pp. 89–90 ; Nos. 10 et 11, p. 122 (avec mutation du Π en \aleph).

pourtant ils ont cru pouvoir placer l'inscription au Ive ou ve siècle, et la pièce B dans le VIIe:—ce qui étonne vivement M. Chwolson. Les raisons avancées par M. Lenormant lui paraissent insoutenables, et il ignore celles qui ont servi de base à Euting pour sa fixation de date. Il va jusqu'à admettre que Lévy même a indiqué la voie pour dater l'inscription A, la plus ancienne des quatre présentes, sans toutefois faire bon usage de ses indications exactes. Dans son analyse paléographique de l'alphabet de cette inscription (p. 478), Lenormant a démontré que la plupart des formes de ces lettres se retrouvent sur les monnaies des satrapes, sur la pierre de Carpentras et d'autres monuments surnommés égypto-aramééns : quelques-unes des lettres ressemblent à celles des inscriptions palmyréniennes. Mais, comme les premiers monuments précités remontent au Ive et au IIIe siècles avant J. C., tandis que les derniers proviennent des 1er au IIIe siècles après J. C., on en tire la déduction naturelle que l'inscription A appartient au 1er siècle de l'ère chrétienne, c'est-à-dire à un moment où beaucoup d'anciennes formes araméénnes se sont encore conservées, où les alphabets ayant l'araméén pour souche, le haurano-nabatéén, le palmyrenien, en fin le carré, ne sont pas encore séparés d'une façon tranchée.

Par conséquent, si dans les monuments en caractères carrés, les lettres paléographiquement caracteristiques offrent telles formes qui plus tard ont disparu, mais sont identiques ou au moins très semblables aux lettres correspondantes des alphabets congénères, de tels monuments ne peuvent appartenir qu'au 1er siècle, ou au plus tard au 11e siècle de l'ère chrétienne, dit M. Chwolson. De plus, on sait que les hastes (crocs) supérieures des lettres 2, 7, 7, 2, 7, et 7, dans l'alphabet araméén, proviennent des formes originaires de ces lettres en phénicien. En outre, on sait que ces pointes dans les dits alphabets de seconde génération se sont successivement émoussés, jusqu'à disparaître complètement plus tard. La conséquence naturelle à tirer de ce fait, c'est que les monuments en caractères carrés, où les hastes sont plus ou moins pointues, doivent être d'une époque antérieure à ceux où ces marques sont plus ou moins effacées. l'on compare par exemple l'inscription A avec celle dite des Beni-Hezir (בני הוניך), qui est à peu près du rer siècle de J. C., on remarque que l'indice d'ancienneté en question ressort beaucoup plus nettement dans la première que dans l'autre. Dans l'inscription A, le 3, très souvent, puis les 7, 7, 5 et 7, sont sans cesse pourvus de ces pointes, dont il n'a été conservé que de faibles traces

sur ces lettres dans d'inscription de Hezir. Le trait vertical de droite dans 7 et 77, ou de gauche dans 17, dépasse dans l'inscription A la ligne horizontale, comme dans les anciennes inscriptions nabatéénnes et dans d'autre vieilles inscriptions. De même, le , a une forme nettement antique, et dans plusieurs passages il a une parenté visible avec le nabatéén. En considérant le point de vue paléographique, il faudrait placer l'inscription A avant celle de Hezir, au commencement du 1er siècle de J. C. Mais comme il n'y a pas à tirer des inscriptions palestiniennes des conclusions pour celles de Babylonne, M. Chwolson croit devoir assigner le 1er siècle après J. C. comme date de l'inscription A, et il ne croit pas qu'il y ait des motifs sérieux pour la supposer plus jeune. Une fois cette date admise pour l'inscription A, la fixation approximativement exacte des trois autres inscriptions babyloniennes n'est plus difficile. Dans l'inscription B, ces marques paléographiques, et les parentés des lettres avec celles de l'alphabet provenant d'une descendance araméénne, sont moindres que dans la pièce A. La pièce B est manifestement plus jeune que la précédente, mais pas de beaucoup; car presque toutes les lettres paléographiquement caractéristiques ont leurs formes archaïques, qui sous le rapport paléographique renvoient à une époque antérieure aux inscriptions de Kefer Ber'em.* M. Chwolson voudrait donc placer la pièce B au 11e siècle de J. C.

La pièce C est encore plus jeune. Là, les caractères d'écriture sont nettement plus jeunes que dans la pièce B, sans l'être beaucoup plus que l'inscription précitée de Kefer Ber'em, ou dans celle de Venosa. M. Halévy conjecture que cette inscription appartient au ixe siècle environ, et il se fonde sur les motifs suivants: Selon lui, dans le sens d'engagement rappelle le sens de la forme du verbe arabe congénère של Mais, dans la note 2 sur cette inscription, il a été observé que ce mot ne saurait nullement avoir le sens qui lui est attribué par M. H. Puis, celui-ci suppose que le terme מוֹן pour בעירא dans les versions chadéénnes et le Talmud, est souvent employé pour désigner les animaux domestiques, le pecus. L'invocation de la planète, vers la fin de l'inscription, rappelle l'astrologie des Arabes; les Babyloniens au contraire cherchaient bien à guérir par des formules de conjuration magique,

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^{*} Renan, Mission en Phénicie, pp. 763-4. Cf. David de Gunzbourg, Etudes épigraphiques, dans Revue des études Juives, xviii, 213.

sans que celles-ci s'adressent à une planète, mais aux dieux. Par contre, M. Chwolson pense que les Arabes n'ont pas apporté leur astrologie du désert, mais l'ont très probablement commencé à apprendre en Babylonie. On peut affirmer avec certitude, selon M. Chwolson, que les Babyloniens du 1^{er} siècle n'ont jamais adressé leurs vœux aux étoiles. Soit par des raisons paléographiques, soit par des raisons de fond, il y a donc lieu de fixer cette pièce C au plus tard dans la 1^{er} moitié du Ive siècle de J. C.

E.

Un vase similaire, acquis à Paris par la Bibliothèque Nationale, était, jusqu'en 1883, à notre connaissance, le seul de ce genre que renferment les musées de France,* et c'est par lui que nous allons continuer cette étude. Il affecte, comme tous les autres, la forme d'une calotte hémisphérique très-évasée; il est uni sur toutes ses parties et n'offre aucune trace d'ornementation; il n'a même pas au centre, à l'intérieur, cette saillie ou ὄμφαλος qu'on remarque sur quelques bols du même genre, notamment sur celui C, qu'a interprété M. Halévy. La pâte de l'argile est rougeâtre, et les parois sont d'une épaisseur moyenne. Le pourtour du bord mesure un diamètre de 15 centimètres environ. Rien dans la fabrique et l'aspect de ce monument, grossier en lui-même, ne peut révéler l'époque de la fabrication; les caractères paléographiques et linguistiques seuls permettent, comme nous le verrons, de placer cet objet vers le cinquième ou le sixième siècle de notre ère, par assimilation au bolt décrit plus haut rubrique C: ceux qui ont été publiés par M. Layard sont manifestement un peu plus anciens.

L'intérieur de notre vase, c'est-à-dire la surface concave, est occupée par deux inscriptions qui se déroulent en spirale, et qui, se faisant suite l'une à l'autre, sont néanmoins séparées par un trait à l'encre qui court sur tout le circuit de la paroi. Contrairement à ce qui s'observe sur la plupart des monuments du même genre, notamment celui qu'a déchiffré M. Levy, A, la spirale inscrite va de la circonférence au centre. La première formule, celle qui est la plus rapprochée du bord, a un peu plus de cinq lignes; celle qui est

+ Ce dernier, à en juger d'après le caractère graphique, est peut-être d'un

siècle postérieur à celui nous occupe ici.

^{*} Abstraction faite par conséquent d'une coupe de ce genre qui est au Musée de Cannes, que l'abbé Hyvernat a publiée et traduite dans la Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung, T II, 1885, pp. 113-148.



Ε



TERRA-COTTA BOWL.

au centre en contient à peine quatre petites. Au milieu, sans doute pour remplacer la saillie ou ombilic dont nous parlions plus haut, on remarque, tracé à l'encre, un cercle irrégulier et très allongé, traversé par deux diagonales qui se croisent en forme d'X. Cette particularité, qui devait avoir un sens magique, se constate de même sur plusieurs des coupes publiées dans l'ouvrage de M. Layard.

Voici, en caractère hébraïques ordinaires, la transcription de nos deux textes, qui sont d'une conservation graphique suffisante, sauf quelques parties frustes que nous essayerons de reconstituer:—

אסותא' מן שמיה לחיסדי בר אמה כל חרשין [בישין] יועובדין (תקי]פין ולוטתא ונידרי ואשלמתא דרחיקין ודקריבין דגברי ודינשי דלילייה ודימאמה דעבדי ליה ודעבדין ליה מן יומה דין ולעלם כלהין אילין ואילין משמתין ומנודין ותבירין ועקירין ומפקין מן גופיה ומן מודהוה "ומן מאתין וארבעין ותמניה חרמי קומתיה דחיסדי בר אמה על אידי חוציא ל" כוכביה דהוא נצח מן כל כוכביה דעליה רכובה אספת "דהוא מלפת חרשי לחרשתא [יבין ובישם] "דכרמסיסיה "שמה רבה מפרשה אמן אמן סלה. ניחא ברחמי שמיה מן רוחא בישתא ומן מרעה בישה ומן כל מיניה חומרי דקימו לקיבליה לחיסדי בר אמה בטילין ושביתין מיניה אמן סלה.

TRADUCTION.

"Salut du ciel, pour Ḥisda bar Ama. Toutes mauvaises sorcelleries, grand'œuvres, malédictions, vœux, engagements, de loin ou de près, d'hommes ou de femmes, la nuit ou le jour, qu'ils font contre lui ou qu'elles font contre lui, depuis ce jour jusqu'à jamais: que toutes ces choses, les unes et les autres, soient anathématisées, bannies, expulsées, arrachées, et chassées de son corps et de sa demeure, hors des deux cent quarante huit (membres) ensorcelés, et hors de l'endroit où se tient Ḥisda bar Ama, sur le chemin de Ḥousia. A l'étoile qui domine sur toutes les autres étoiles d'en haut, qui chevauche (dans le firmament), appartient le salut, car elle enseigne la magie aux magiciens sous l'invocation (?) de jujubier. Que le grand nom (de dieu) soit prononcé. Amen, Amen, Sela."

"Délivrance par la grâce du ciel, des mauvais esprits et des mauvaises maladies, et de toutes sortes d'adversités qui se lèvent contre lui, contre Ḥisda bar Ama: qu'ils disparaissent et soient anéantis de devant lui. Amen, Amen, Sela."

Notes.

- r. Le mot NITON se traduirait exactement par le latin salus, c'est-à-dire, santé, salut, remède, talisman, préservatif physique ou moral. C'est par ce mot que débute aussi la formule magique de l'une des coupes du British Museum (Layard, op. cit., p. 515, note 2). On sait que NITON est le souhait de santé formulé, aujourd'hui encore, par les Juifs à l'adresse de ceux qui éternuent : c'est, selon la tradition, un préservatif contre une mort inopinée, car la légende rapporte qu'Abraham mourut en éternuant.
- 2. Nous ferons remarquer que le mot au lieu d'un N. Ce n'est pas la seule particularité du morceau, qui prouve que l'orthographe en est très négligée. Nous en citerons d'autres exemples.
- 3. La forme אכור היסרא היסרא, et אכוי pour אכוי. Ces noms propres se rencontrent très fréquemment dans les livres rabbiniques.
- 4. Ce mot est très fruste et presque illisible; mais le contexte et la formule analogue publiée par M. Halévy en rendent certaine la restitution.
- 5. M. Halévy traduit עובדין תקיבין par "œuvres puissantes;" l'expression nous parait correspondre à ce qu'on appelait au moyen âge *le grand'œuvre* (magique).
 - 6. Les trois premières lettres de ce mot ont presque disparu.
- 7. Ce mot ודינשי est écrit plus emphatiquement ודנאשי dans le texte de M. Halévy.
- 8. Mot fruste, en partie restitué. On remarquera la répétition du même verbe au féminin pluriel, ayant pour sujet les démons féminins.
- 9. La formule מן יומה דינ ולעלם est exprimée (avec une légère variante) dans le texte de M. Halévy par les mots, כון יומא, qui ne modifient en rien le sens.
 - 10. תבירין, mot-à-mot: brisées, broyées.
- וו. Dans le texte interprété par M. Halévy, le mot מודדון a heureusement une sorte d'explication placée à l'interligne, qui contient

le mot מקומותידהן, "ses emplacements." Peut-être faut il lire ici: מדורידה) (avec intercalation superflue d'un premier ז), dont le sens certain est: sa demeure.

- 12. "Les deux cent quarante huit" (membres). Cette formule est tout-à-fait nouvelle dans les inscriptions des vases magiques. Au moyen âge, les Juifs admettaient que le corps humain se décompose en 248 membres, ou parties, qui étaient sujettes, chacune individuellement, à subir les atteintes de la maladie ou du démon. Notre formule d'incantation a pour but de les préserver toutes sans exception. Faut-il, au contraire, supposer qu'il s'agit de "248 procédés de sorcellerie," contre lesquels l'inscription a pour but de protéger le dit Ḥisda? Même expression dans l'inscription G.
- 13. M. Halévy a lu ce mot אורד; mais la lecture אורד, sur notre vase, ne peut faire l'objet d'une contestation. Littéralement : main, par extension (?), voie. On le trouve aussi dans le Talmud comme nom propre (traduction française, T. I., p. 15; T. VI, p. 183).
- 14. La lecture de cette lettre est certaine; elle est assez distante du mot qui précéde et du mot qui suit; le fac-simile de la coupe Rodwell sur lequel a travaillé M. Halévy, l'a induit en erreur; il a vu dans le passage semblable au nôtre l'interjection אוי הוציא, ô, comparable à l'hébreu; il lit: איי כוכבא ... מו lieu de Dans l'un et l'autre cas, il y a un point d'arrèt, une fin de phrase, après le mot Ḥoucia.
- 15. Au lieu de כוכביה דעליה רכובה, M. Halévy a cru lire sur son texte défectueux כוכביא דעלמי ; mais la lecture de notre passage ne peut faire l'objet d'aucun doute. Le mot appliqué à une étoile, à Vénus probablement, indique une curieuse notion astrologique empruntée par les Juifs aux Chaldéens.
- 17. Passage fruste et difficile à rétablir. Le dernier mot ne parait pas douteux, c'est רבישם, et par le nom: il en reste encore des traces graphiques. Mais ce qui précède a complètement disparu, et nous proposons conjecturalement de restituer les lettres suivantes:
 ... לודניבדיונג... dont nous avouons ne pas comprendre le sens.
 Dans le passage parallèle de l'inscription traduite par M. Halévy,

- 19. Avec les points diacritiques : נְיָדָשָׁ, repos, tranquillité, dé-livrance. בידו a le même sens en syriaque.
- 20. Ce mot est très fruste, et il semble qu'il y ait entre פירוא et lui place pour une ou deux lettres qui nous échappent.
- 21. Ce mot est difficile à lire; mais le contexte laisse deviner le sens.

Au point de vue tachygraphique, nous noterons les particularités suivantes: la forme particulière du D est celle d'un triangle. Le se confond avec le , et même parfois avec le , au commencement ou au milieu des mots. Le D est presque identique au D. Les trois lettres , n et n se confondent absolument. Le D a, quand il est fait négligemment, beaucoup d'analogie avec le D. Le y et le 2 sont presque identiques. Le p peut se confondre avec le D, car la queue est souvent sacrifiée. Faisons enfin remarquer que le 2 a une forme particulière dans le mot phénicien. Le 3 final est joints de façon à ressembler à un n phénicien. Le 3 final est

quelquefois à angle droit et ressemble assez à une équerre; il est orné d'une ou de deux petites hastes à sa partie supérieure; mais il ressemble aussi parfois à un ou un prolongé.

Parmi les notions talmudiques à signaler dans la formule qui nous occupe, notons celle des 248 membres ou parties du corps humain. C'est à l'ancienne astrologie chaldéenne que se rattache la mention de l'étoile Venus, l'antique Istar ou Belit, qui était particulièrement puissante pour les exorcismes et les guérisons,* et qui a pris place avec les mêmes attributs dans l'astrologie des Mendaïtes et des Arabes. Les déplacements même de la planète Venus sont indiqués dans notre texte : elle chevauche à travers le firmament, et sans doute, la place relative qu'elle occupait devait influer sur l'éfficacité de l'invocation de son nom. L'invocation du jujubier doit aussi être d'origine chaldéenne; les Mendaïtes ont également un arbre dont l'ombre est bienfaitrice ; il est fréquemment mentionné dans le Sidra rabba, sous le nom de תתגמור, que Norberg traduit par vitis cypria.† Il y aura certainement un jour des rapprochements fort intéressants à établir entre ces antiques traditions chaldéennes qui ont persisté presque jusqu'à nos jours, et les textes cunéiformes concernant les pratiques magiques et astrologiques des anciens Babyloniens. Le vase que nous avons examiné était fait pour Hisda fils d'Ama, qui habitait non loin de Housia; cette localité, mentionnée aussi dans le texte traduit par M. Halévy, est connue; elle devait se trouver non loin de Hillah, peut-être sur les ruines mêmes de Babylone.

Deux pièces, F et G, assez semblables à celle de Layard No. 2, sont au même musée.‡ Au bord extérieur de la seconde, on lit:—

איזל ממך המות אז \$ וקלי כמי הים גופרית ומלח שרופה כל ארצכה לא תיזרע ולא תצמיח ולא תעלה בה כל עשב כמהפכת סדום ועמורה אדמה וצבואים אשר הפך יהוה באפו ובחמתו באפו יהוה הפך אשר וצבואים אדמה ועמורה סדום כמהפכת עשב כל בה תעלה ולא תצמיח ולא תיזרע ארצכם כל שרופה ומלח גיפרית.

^{*} Fr. Lenormant, Chaldean Magic, p. 17.

[†] Norberg, Onomast. ad lib. Adami, p. 144.

[‡] Elles doivent paraître dans la Revue des Etudes Juives en 1890.

[§] Pour ly fort, violent. Ce n'est du reste pas la seule faute d'orthographe : il y en a bien d'autres dans le verset qui suit, comme dans le texte précédent.

Après les sept premiers mots, pour détourner la mort du malade qui lira ces lignes en buvant de la coupe, se trouve textuellement un verset de la Bible (Deuteronome xxix, 12); puis les mêmes mots sont écrits à rebours, en commençant par le dernier mot pour finir par le premier.*

A envisager le commencement de ce texte, "que ceci soit un moyen de destruction pour l'esprit qui repose sur Mar-Zoutra," il est très possible que le texte se rapporte à un personnage du même nom, dont le Talmud de Jérusalem dit (tr. Maasser schéni, v. 8): "Il prie et jeûne pour d'autres, sans avoir pu se guérir lui-même par sa prière." On aurait alors fait pour lui la présente amulette.

H.

Une des dernières acquisitions faites par le département des antiquités orientales au British Museum concerne un petit monument de la même famille que les précédents. Il est probablement bien antérieur-au moins d'un siècle ou deux-à celui du cabinet des antiques de la Bibliothèque nationale. Deux motifs nous font émettre cette hypothèse: 1° la disposition de l'inscription, qui, au lieu d'être en forme de spirale (comme le sont tous les congénères), se compose de lignes concentriques, la plus petite occupant naturellement le centre, et les autres, en s'éloignant, s'étendent; 2° la forme même des lettres, encore pourvues de hastes supérieures, signe certain de la transition entre le phénicien et les caractères carrés.

Voici le texte, avec toutes ses incorrections et fautes d'orthographe:-

- . אסותא מן שמיא למחיה על איסקופתיה דאשיר.
- מחאדיוד ועל שום דאיה ליה בישמיה דיהוה קדישה
- 3 רבא דישראל דדהוא אמר והוי הנה מטתו שלישלומו שישים גיבורים.
- יאר (sic) לה מי גיבורי ישראל יברכך יהוה וישמומו יאר
- יהוה פניו אליך ויחונך ישא. יהוה פניו אליך ויחונך ישא. 5. יהוה פנו אליך ויסום לך שלום אמן אמן סלה מופר אותות בית דין וקומים.

^{*} Encore de nos jours, les Juifs pratiquants, qui ne négligent pas de bénir la néoménie entre le 1er et le 15 de chaque mois lunaire, disent entre autres versets, après la bénédiction du mois, celui de l'Exode xv, 16, dans les deux sens, ordinaire et à rebours.

Il y a là un véritable abus des *matres lectionis*, compliqué d'erreurs d'auditions, ou de lectures mal comprises des versets bibliques, sans compter 1° des allitérations de sons, 2° des exemples de tachygraphie.

L'ensemble peut se diviser en deux grandes parts : la première Chaldéénne, composée de deux lignes et demie ; la deuxième est hébraïque, exclusivement composée de trois passages de l'écriture sainte.

VOICI LA TRADUCTION.

[Ligne 1] "Salut du ciel¹ pour (donner) la vie² sur le seuil³ de Aschir⁴ [ligne 2] Mehadioud et à ce qui est (?) sous sa vue,⁵ au nom de l'Eternel saint, le grand Dieu⁶ [ligne 3] d'Israél, dont la parole, aussitot qu'énoncée,⁻ est exécutée." "Voici,⁵ le lit de Salomon⁰ est entouré¹⁰ [ligne 4] de 60 hommes vaillants parmi les plus forts¹¹ d'Israél." "Que l'Eternel¹² te bénisse et te protège¹³; qu'il fasse luire sa face vers toi et te favorise; qu'il lève [ligne 5] son regard¹¹ sur toi et te donne¹⁵ la paix." Amen, Amen, Selah. "J'anéantis¹⁶ les signes du tribunal¹¹ et des devins.¹⁵"

NOTES.

- 1. L'expression "salut du ciel" est commune à plusieurs documents de cette nature, et il suffit de renvoyer aux textes analogues (par exemple en tête de E).
- 2. Dans le mot לביודיה, pour la vie, les lettres et π (dont la première est superflue, figurant un i bref) sont jointes : première exemple de tachygraphie.
- 3. La première lettre du mot suivant est à-demi effacée; mais on devine l'y de על. Dans le mot איסקופתיה, les lettres sont jointes; nouvel exemple de tachygraphie. Le mot même, identiquement semblable en syriaque, a déjà été expliqué plus haut.
- 4. Le term Aschir, dernier mot de la ligne 1, et le suivant Mehadioud, premier mot de la ligne 2, ont bien une tournure persane, en rapport avec la localité où l'inscription a été découverte.
- 5. Le mot du texte est obscur, en raison de la trop grande similitude des lettres ד et ד, ainsi que ד et ד, et ד avec י. La lecture אינה, vue, est proposée à titre de simple conjecture.
- 6. Un seul mot, celui de איליאה, Dieu (pour אוליאה), a subi une cassure; mais la lecture ne souffre pas de doute.

- 7. L'écrivain inexpérimenté qui s'est chargé d'écrire ce talisman, donne là une nouvelle preuve de son ignorance, en écrivant סטור און, qui est. C'est une imitation ou réminiscence, en chaldéén, d'un verset du dit Psaume xxxiii, 9, premier hémistiche.
- 8. Ici commence la partie hébraïque, par le verset des Cantiques, iii, 7, intercalé d'ordinaire dans la liturgie juive de la nuit comme préservatif contre les démons nocturnes.

9. Le texte porte ici par erreur שלשלמה, pour שלשלמה, de Salomon," que comporte l'orthographe massorétique de la Bible.

- 10. Autre preuve d'ignorance du scribe, qui, ayant vaguement retenu l'assonance des mots, écrit סבביל לה pour סבביל, autour de lui.
- נו. Une inadvertance du même genre a fait écrire מיגיבורי, des forts (en deux mots), avec une profusion de voyelles inutiles, pour בגברי.
- 12. Suit la bénédiction sacerdotale, telle qu'elle est prescrite dans le livre Mosaïque des Nombres vi, 24–26; un texte de la Bible suffit pour corriger les fautes manifestes du copiste.
- ו Le troisième mot de ce verset est complètement estropié dans le texte courant; et audessus des trois dernières lettres fautives קבור, que le copiste—par un scrupule exagéré—s'est interdit d'effacer, se trouvent superposées deux lettres presque pareilles, qu'il faut rectifier en און, fin du mot און, et te protège.
- 14. Ici, contre l'ordinaire, le copiste a tracé avec trop de parcimonie les voyelles, écrivant פנר אלד, ce qui n'a aucun sens, pour פנין אליך, "sa face vers toi."
- 15. Le mot suivant est écrit à tort ריסום, pour רישם, "qu'il place," ou "donne."
- 16. Après la formule finale, habituelle aux objurgations, "Amen, Amen, Selah," vient un verset (Isaïe xliv, 25), dont un seul mot, le second, est correctement écrit ici, et qui seul a permis de reconstituer la lecture (avec la signification) du reste. Le premier mot eût été impossible à déchiffrer, vu la jonction de deux caractères, sans les précédents tachygraphiques de la ligne 1, qui ont servi à titre de comparaison, pour reconstituer le texte.
- 17. Les mots trois et quatre de ce verset invoqué, savoir דין, tribunal, sont le produit d'une corruption acoustique du mot בדים, "prophètes de mensonge," qu'offre en réalité le texte biblique.

וא (et les devins, il les proclame insensés," a été tronquée, soit involontairement, par suite du manque de place, soit de plein gré, pour mieux accomoder la phrase avec l'ensemble de l'invocation. D'ailleurs, la Bible parle à la première personne, et ici il s'agit de la troisième personne.

Ces cinq lignes de texte forment non une spirale, mais des quatre cinquièmes de cercles successifs ou concentriques. Au défaut de jonction des lignes le vide est occupé par un dessin qui se prolonge depuis le bord du vase jusqu'assez près du centre, dessin deux fois reproduit, sur une plus petite échelle, à droite et à gauche du premier: ce dessin est tout-à-fait enfantin, digne de la main qui reproduit si mal les textes bibliques ci-dessus énoncés. C'est peut-être l'aspect informe d'un arbre, dont les racines sont dénudées de la terre. En ce cas, on pourrait songer à l'arbre de vie d'autant plus qu'en dehors de ces lignes, presqu'au bord on lit nettement un , abrégé de , vie, entouré d'un carré, autrement dit un cercle angulé symbolisant l'éternité.

Tout au milieu, constituant le centre, il y a trois lettres, dont la lecture n'est pas absolument certaine. Nous ne saurions rien y voir en dehors des lettres 'צ'ה'ב'. C'est sans doute l'abréviation de אין, "Tout-puissant, protège-moi!"

I.

Le Musée du Louvre a récemment acquis pour son département des Antiquités orientales un bol en terre cuite grisâtre, contenant une inscription chaldaïque tracée en forme de spirale, qui commence au bord (à l'intérieur) et se termine au centre. Elle est ainsi conçue :—

הוו אסירין כולהון פתיכרו פתירן מיקבהא וחרשי ונודרי ולוטתא ורוחא בישתא אסורין וקטירין וחאסמין אבדין טריחון ומפרשן ועורק(ין) ניצוחון ... (משדן?) אודניהון דלא טריחון ומפרשן ועורק(ין) ניצוחון ... (משדן?) אודניהון דלא לישמעה עליה על אמטור בת שלמא ועל זרעיה ועל ביתה רייניא אסירין מן ידהא דלא חולבין (חובלין יpour) וסממיון כייא אסירין מן ידהא דלא חולבין (חובלין נפשה רחיקין מן ניגליהון דלא ישכין בכישוף מימין מישרין נפשה רחיקין אינין וקריבין כל פתיכרי ואסתרתאכל כמידי קנמי וחרשי ומעדרי הינין ולוטתא ושרא משרתא ורוחי בישתא דלא נוחניין ונודרי ולוטתא ושרא משרתא ורוחי בישתא דלא נוחניין

בה באמטור בת שלמא ובזרעיה ובביתיה ובקיניינותיה אבדין ומן בול(?)זו לעשיה אח אח אתאר יסלק לחוץ הוא ואור אל שדי אל שדי בשמי אאא במא נצח רשומשמא דהווי אסורין שממי וארעא דרתיחמו כולהון דלא ישתמה וביתיהון יהון ובישרריה דמלכה רבא דשר שלמא דפרצא וניחיא מכת לכת דראשיאל מלאכה בסוריאל מלאכה בארויאל מלאכה ראייאל מלאכה בדרקיאל מלאכה בצוריאל מלאכה בדרטוסיאל מלאכה בדרקיאל מלאכה ברחצואל באדאנואל אתו כולכין מלאכין קדושין ברורין רבין וקדושין ניצחנין ורחמין מימינאי לימימותא רבא ומשבענא עליכון שבועתא רבמאוסדרין יתבטילון כל הרשי וכל פתכרו ואיסתרתא ונודרי ולוטתא ושרא בשררתא וכל -רפיה פרוה ישרון בו ומעדרין וכל דלא מישחררין דחסילון מן אמטור בת שלמא ומן זרעיה ומן ביתיה ואינישה ויזלון ויתחבון על שבותתו ועל משררנותא ביתיה ואינישה ויזלון ויתחבון על שבותתו ועל משררנותא מן יומא דנן ולעלם אמן סלה.

Le milieu du cercle est occupé par 32 fois la lettre **3**, formant ensemble une circonférence inachevée; l'espace laissé libre représente en traits enfantins une plante, ou arbuste rabougri, éclairé par le soleil.

Ce texte, qui par la forme des caractères employés, comme par le langage, est du V^e siècle environ, laisse à désirer pour la lecture; les lettres sont pâles, frustes, parfois illisibles. Mais le nombre des mots certains est assez grand pour rendre possible l'essai suivant de traduction:—

"Soyez liés vous tous, démons nombreux, faiseurs de malefices¹ (ou astrologues), magiciens, faiseurs de vœux (ou excommunicateurs), maudisseurs et mauvais esprits; soyez enchainés et attachés et immobilisés; que soient perdus leurs efforts* et écartés, que disparaisse (s'enfuie) leur victoire, comme envolée (ou rejetée²); que leurs oreilles n'entendent rien³ d'Amtor fille de Salomon, ni de

^{*} Les points désignent les lettres non lues; et en cas d'hypothèse d'une deuxième lecture, celle-ci est figurée par des lettres superposées.

ses enfants, ni de sa maison, . . . (ni de ses gens4); qu'ils soient liés quant à leurs mains, pour qu'ils ne puissent pas blesser (frapper, détruire); qu'ils deviennent aveugles pour les choses découvertes (visibles⁵) pour qu'ils ne voient pas⁶ en faisant de la magie; que les eaux (?) soient droites (coulent libres), pour sa personne, soit de loin, soit de près, que tous démons et interdits, toutes choses avec lesquelles ils conjurent, et enchantent, et tracent des sillons, et excommunient, maudissent, et reposent dans les prairies (?); que les mauvais esprits ne demeurent pas chez Amtor fille de Salomon, ni chez ses enfants, ni dans sa maison, ni parmi les biens acquis (mobiliers); qu'ils soient perdus (? que tout ceci soit inexécutable en ces lieux); qu'il aille dehors (qu'il sorte), lui et aussi, Dieu puissant, en mon nom (ou par le nom) de A A A, avec lequel il vainc leur trace; qu'ils soient liés au ciel et sur terre, qui sont tous bouillants; qu'il n'y ait pas de dévastation dans leurs maisons,8 par la domination du grand roi, du seigneur Salomon . . . (? maître du fer); que le repos prédomine d'une catégorie (d'anges) à l'autre, de Raschiel l'ange, Bassouriel l'ange, Barouiel l'ange, Rayiel l'ange, Raphael l'ange, Baçouriel l'ange, Badartoumiel l'ange, Badarqiel l'ange, Barachiel, Badanouel. Vous êtes tous des anges saints, purs, grands,9 sacrés, victorieux, miséricordieux, qui lancent de la main droite dans la grande mer. Je vous conjure par la plus grande (grave) adjuration . . . et par leur ordre; qu'elles soient annulées toutes les magies, les œuvres de démons, les interdits d'enchaînement, les vœux, les malédictions, l'effet du séjour en prairie (des gnômes), que les bons fruits restent accessibles, et que l'on puisse tracer des sillons; que les esprits non libres (astreints au mal) cessent d'être (s'écartent) d'Amtor fille de Salomon, de ses enfants, de sa maison, de ses gens; qu'ils partent, qu'ils soient cachés (disparaissent) pour son habitation et sa résidence, depuis ce jour et à jamais. Amen. Sela."

NOTES.

- ו. On peut hésiter entre le mot מחודה, ceux qui voient, prévoient (par les étoiles) = astrologues, et le mot מקבה, de la racine קבה, maudire, synonime des termes qui suivent.
- 2. Ou, bouches, si l'on admet la second lecture, superposée par hypothèse.
- 3. Si ce mot fruste peut se lire משדן, il a l'un des deux sens : envolé, ou rejeté.

- 4. Sous entendu: ne provoquent pas (par leur audition) de mauvais jugement.
- 5. Il y a lieu de supposer ce sens, par analogie avec la fin du texte. M. Sachs me propose de lire רני, de la racine רני, chanter. penser, médire, calomnier; ou ריניא, mauvais bruit; c'est-à-dire: "qu'ils n'entendent rien de mauvais sur Amtor."
- 6. Peut-être: "Quant à leurs ouvertures," terme métaphorique pour les yeux: "qu'ils deviennent aveugles quant à leurs yeux."
- 7. Si la lecture de ce mot est bien telle, il dérive de סבה ou ou, voir, regarder.
- 8. Abrégé des trois mots: Adonaï, Al (El), Alohim. "Le moyen infaillible de dompter les démons," dit M. Halévy (*Revue des études juives*, T. X, p. 62)," consiste à connaître le nom du démon possesseur et à le conjurer par un des noms sacrés transmis par la Bible ou la tradition." Ces noms sont réunis dans le livre cabalistique dit de Raziel.
- 9. Ici, comme souvent, des lettres inutiles sont répétées du mot précédent; le scribe ne peut rien éffacer de ce qui est écrit et consacré desormais. Voir Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale, 1885, pp. 117-19.
- וס. Une telle succession de qualificatifs se retrouve dans le יוצר, première bénédiction avant le *schema* du matin au rituel juif quotidien.

Ces invocations aux anges ont leur pendant dans la littérature chrétienne. Dans une petite pièce du XVe siècle, conservée à la Bibliothèque nationale (8° E 5730 inv. Réserve), on peut lire la conjuration suivante analogue à notre texte, sauf que les anges sont devenus des saints, cités à côté des anges :—

"Conjuro te diabole per sanctum Michaelem, per sanctum Gabrielem: per sanctum Raphaelem et per sanctum Uzielem; et per omnes angelos et archangelos; et per novem choros angelorum et per omnes virtutes celorum principatus et potestates, thronos et dominationes, cherubin et seraphin, Deo patri obedientes et ipsum semper laudantes, glorificantes in secula seculorum. Amen."

J.

Le British Museum possède (comme nous avons dit plus haut) une petite coupe talismanique écrite en arabe. Les caractères sont si grossièrement tracés, et émanent d'un scribe si ignorant, qu'il est impossible d'en déchiffrer le sens. D'ailleurs la pièce a un aspect moderne si évident, qu'elle n'offre nul intérêt paléographique ni philologique.

Il suffit de lui comparer les documents similaires déjà longuement analysés, ceux vus et lus en 1828 par T. J. Reinaud, Monuments arabes, persans, et turcs, etc., T. II, pp. 324-359, puis ceux qu'a donné E. Rehatzek au Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, T. X, 1872-3, pp. 150-162 et 299-315; T. XIV, 1873, pp. 199-218, avec planches.

K.

Il ne faut pas croire que ces formules de talisman soient complètement perdues et hors d'usage. Seulement, les coupes ont fait place à des feuillets. De nos jours encore—et même en plein Paris, spécialement parmi les émigrés polonais et russes—on ne manque pas d'épingler aux rideaux du lit d'une femme, lorsqu'elle vient d'accoucher, et au berceau de son enfant, un imprimé hébreu, bizarrement disposé, contenant des objurations à l'adresse des esprits malfaisants, leur signifiant d'avoir à passer outre. Un grand nombre de nos lecteurs ne connaissent sans doute pas ce texte.

Comme cette pièce moderne n'a non plus nul intérit paléographique, ni philologique, il suffit d'en résumer rapidement le contenu: * En exergue, le souhait de prospérité. Pour titre : "Préservatif de l'enfant, d'après la formule d'un saint homme." Au milieu, le premier cantique des degrès, ou Psaume exxi, entier. Audessous, l'invocation "Schaddaï (Tout-puissant), déchire Satan," suivie de trois noms d'anges et de ceux des trois patriarches avec les noms de leurs femmes. Comme base, un carré, et à l'intérieur, les deux noms : Adam, Eve. A droite et à gauche de ce carré, la prescription mosaïque de "ne pas laisser subsister de sorcière" Exode xxii, 18), de chaque côté trois fois. Cette colonne médiale est encadrée dans les versets bibliques suivants: A droite: Cantique des Cant., iii, 7 et 8; à gauche: Ps. xvi, 1; xvii, 8, et xxxii, 7. Enfin, sur les deux marges externes, encastrant les deux angles de base de la colonne du milieu, on lit deux textes rabbiniques : Le premier (à droite) raconte qu'Elie ayant rencontré Lilith avec toute sa bande de démons obtint

^{*} Une telle feuille de préservation, dite כבוכדה, se retrouve avec son formulaire dans l'ouvrage Amtaḥath Binyamin par Benjamin ou Benush b. Juda Löb Cohen (Wilmanstadt, 1716, in-4°), fol. 34a.

d'elle, sous la menace de la pétrifier, le secret grâce auquel les nouveaux nés échappent à ses atteintes; c'est d'exposer nettement les divers noms cabbalistiques de la magicienne. Le second texte (à gauche) donne une autre façon de mettre la mère et l'enfant à l'abri des tentatives du démon et de ses maléfices: c'est de piler du fenouil, ou de l'herbe de S. Jean, et d'en répandre sur le foyer; la fumée qui s'en dégagera chassera les esprits malfaisants (ou émanations malsaines).

En somme, dans les dix pièces dont les textes précèdent, nous voyons les traces d'une superstition curieuse à plus d'un titre. C'est le reflet imagé de croyances populaires qui n'ont rien de purement mosaïque. C'est un écart très marqué des religions monothéistes, de ce qu'elles ont d'élevé, d'idéal, de sentiments spiritualistes. Ce n'est plus le matérialisme grossier des idolâtres, des polythéistes, mais un reste d'adoration des forces divinisées de la nature. Il n'est pas étonnant de les voir se maintenir avec tant de persistance, si l'on songe que, sans remonter aux siècles antérieurs, on en retrouve encore actuellement l'écho en Orient. Ainsi, un voyageur, de retour du royaume de Siam, disait:—

"Les superstitions des Siamois n'ont aucun rapport avec leurs croyances religieuses, bien plus, elles leur sont radicalement opposés, puisque les doctrines de Bouddha les proscrivent sévèrement; mais en dépit de ces mêmes doctrines, le brahmanisme indien a introduit parmi le peuple, généralement ignorant et naturellement porté au mysticisme et au surnaturel, certaines croyances grossières tendant, soit à expliquer les phénomènes naturels, soit à conjurer les mauvais sorts, soit enfin à donner un sens aux songes et aux changements de température, etc.

"Comme on voit, les fonctions de ces individus diffèrent de celles des magiciens et diseurs de bonne aventure, qui, de nos jours encore, jouissent d'un certain crédit dans les contrées peu civilisées de la vieille Europe."

Espérons que la juxtaposition d'un grand nombre de ces textes contribuera à résoudre les questions encore obscures de ce domaine;* leur contenu et leur langage finiront par révéler leur âge encore indéterminé.

^{*} Le dernier document connu en ce genre est celui qui vient de publier M. Harkavy, avec traduction russe, dans les *Zapiski* de la Société imp. russe d'Archéologie (T. IV, p. 83-95).

VOCABULAIRE.

Pour mettre le lecteur à même de suivre notre marche, de la contrôler, nous devons donner ici le vocabulaire des termes peu usités, employés dans les inscriptions qui précèdent. Par ce procédé on se rendra compte combien cette sorte de juxtaposition alphabétique, faite avec une certaine hésitation, en présence de lectures douteuses, a influé plus ou moins sur ces dernières et sur les interprétations. Certains mots, ainsi rangés, se sont retrouvés maintes fois; grâce à leur classification, ils ont paru offrir un sens, tandis que d'autres, marqués du signe de doute (?), restent pour ainsi dire doublement obscurs, car fort souvent encore ce ne sont que des conjectures et hypothèses.

אבתור=), A, nom. pr. (=אבטור mendaïte).

וארן, I, oreille.

אדנמא, F, (?אדמה), terre.

סעקדו ou אוקדו, F, (?) démontrer (de הבו).

קרונק, D, chargé, lourd (ou derivé de אונק messager, Tal. B., Sanhédrin, f. 38b).

אָרָה, I, aussi.

וא, I, ah.

עדן, G,=עדן, temps, ou=

ארר, C, quoi ô (= $\frac{1}{2}$, en arabe $\hat{\sigma}$).

אימיא, et ימא D, F, mère.

אמטור, I, nom pr., Amtor.

אנפרת, G, séparer, se retirer.

שוא, I, gens.

אסותא, E, H, salut.

אסקופתא, F, H, seuil.

אסא, I, lier, interdire.

אסרת, B, I, démon qui ruine (de מחר).

פרלי, F, ténèbres.

נקת G, voir אקת.

лъ, В, С, H, voie.

ארע, I, terre.

ארקפא, B, dominateur (lieutenant du roi).

אשיר, F, G, H, fort, heureux.

אשלמתא, C, engagement.

אשתא, F, feu.

אתאר, I, n. pr.

אתוני, A, foyer.

אתלל, G, (?) sera suspendu.

אתקיפויה, B, 1º Puissant, 2º saisir.

אחחא, B, F, femme.

ו, באדאנואל, I, n. pr. d'ange.

בארוואל, I, n. pr. d'ange.

בבנעא, D, (?) en ses fils.

בדאישור, F, n. pr. Badesor ou Bar-Esor.

בדרטוסיאל, I, Badartousiel, n. pr.

בדרקיאל, I, n. pr. d'ange.

באהרן, A, brillant (? Mercure).

בחר, F, choisir, préférer.

ביאתיאל, F, n.pr.(? corrompu de רודיאל). Voir

בטל, I, annuler.

ביקבלון, I, Aux ténèbres.

בין, G, fils.

בנים, G, révolté. Voir aussi

בסוריאל, I, Basouriel, n. pr. d'ange.

בער, D, désirer, demander.

ברא, A, au dehors.

ברהאי, C, ses fils (? de ברהאי oiseau, Tal. B., tr Houllin, f. 62b).

ברור, I, pur.

ברח, A, fuir.

ברחציאל, I, Barahsiel, n. pr. d'ange.

בר פורת, (ou בדפוש), F, Bar Porat, n. pr. (ou par type)

בש, I, mauvais.

בתוקפא, B, par la force.

בתניון, A, Bethunian (? = בתניון, Baravala).

בתרא, G, dernier.

גבילי, G, limites.

גברות, G, force.

גרע, A, briser, couper.

ל, F, pour ין ou ין, ce, ceci.

גיסא, G, approché, à côté; être grand, gros.

גריא, C, exciter.

דאשיר, F, H, n. pr. (de אשר, heureux).

דבירכה, B, F, (בירכה, ruisseau. برگة, A, désert (? exterieur).

דוןי. A, Dews (ou: malade, triste).

דוך, A, lieu (mot talmu-dique).

דוכתון, F, id. (au pluriel).

דולא, F, celui qui va puiser, vampire. Sorte.

דורני, A, belle.

דרלא, G, tremblement.

דר, G, que.

דלאלה, C, n. pr. (Delala, ou: de Lala).

דמות, F, apparence.

, B, ce, ceci (celui, celle).

דניהון, B, voisinage.

(?), F, beau (ou = ara درن , ver).

Α, (?) ô roi (ὁ Βασιλεύς).

הדי מן, B, F, êloigner de.

הידריה, B, éclat.

הפכה, B, G, renversement, ruine, changement.

קבן, G. achat, relations (? וכון, temps).

דאים, F, (? = דאים, persistant).

זבה, F, couler (? דבה n. pr.).

זריה, A, ce qui est jeté.

וְרִירָי, F, éternument.

דאסמי, I, immobilisé.

סת ou חיב, B, G, aimer.

חבה, I, cacher.

סתבלן ou חבלן, B, G, I, blesser, détruire.

ודית, הדתא, B, G, neuve.

הומין, G, chaud, chaleur.

דומרי, E, grave

הרציר, C, E, dehors, ou : Ḥouci, n. pr.

היוא, G, serpent.

דויורי, F, blanc.

היותיה, C, animaux.

היל, G, force.—F. frapper.

הלמוצא, G, aigrie, ou melde (pour

תנוכה D. Voir הנוח.

הרגא, F, tourbillon de poussière.

הרגתי, F, be le-fille.

דריבתא, F, ruine.

דרמי, E, G, interdit.

רש, C, E, I, sorcellerie, sorcier.

שריה, B, répandre. Voirשריה.

חתל? חתל, cesser d'être.

שביא, A, bon (? מביא, gazelle).

שביל, G, adhérer.

אורא, A, mont.

מימיחר, G, enduit, ciment.

מיטחיה, F, caché. Rognons.

שלטול, G, mobilier.

אחאמט, F, impureté

(שמאתא?)

שמנטיה, G, enfoui.

עריח, I, effort.

רה, A, Oh (pour ארה,

רזכל, I, aller.

יכסתובות, F, (? pour יכסתובות, le couvrent).

ימא, ימימיתא, G, l, mer.

יכונא, I, droite.

יצפנדרמיר (?), A, Espandarmir (mois ou jour persan).

יקבלון, A, obscurité.

רשר, G, I, résider.

יתבא, F,C,habitation(?placer, restituer), donner.

בבש, I, vaincre.

ברבי, B, droit (ou: séjour).

ביך, G, (?ביך, en toi, par toi).

אכבבא, B, C, E, F, étoile.

כמידי, I, ce avec quoi.

כרהין, B, maladies.

כרמסיסה, C, E, jujubier.

ת, I, catégorie.

כתר, G, couronne

כתיר, I, nombreux.

לובא, G, cœur.

לשתא, B, E, F, I, malédiction.

(غوله =), A, Lilith (= كادار

לעלם, I, à jamais.

אט, F, vêtements.

מדוהי, C, E, localité, habitation.

הוח, F, G, crâne, cerveau.

מומא, G, défaut.

בוסרא, F, livrer, lier.

א כורניתא, A, sceptre.

אולא, G, planète, destinée.

בוראדיוד, H, n. pr.

אחוחב, I, voyant, astrologue.

אריה, H, nourriture, subsistance, être.

כותנה, G, nom d'ange.

. מביב, C. Voir

מטיתא, B, F (? de מוית), obscurité, insistance.

בידור, F, demeure.

אבירבא, C, d'où.

כיתה, G, mort.

שיטויה, F. Voir שיטויה

מירמר, F, G, élever, jeter.

מישרן, G. Voir ישרן.

כיתחדו, F, renouveler.

ו, מלכה, I, roi.

מלפה B. Voir, מלכן.

כללתא, C. F, parole.

D, de source.

בוכר, G, nommé, préposé.

ממנחיאל, F, n. pr. d'ange (dérivé de מחניאל).

מכרה, G, être rebelle.

אבר, G, objets, ustensiles.

כתרו, F, guérison.

מסיקה (?), C, dévastateur (grillon).

מעבר, E, faiseur.

מעוהי, G, (?) argent (ou de crâne).

מפירין, B, fiévreux (de פרני, four).

א כקבהא, I, maudisseur.

בריך, D, amer.

מרעה, E, paturage (ou: du mal).

אמשחא, G, oint, onction.

משבר, F, qui brise.

משחרר, I, libéré.

משרן, I, rejeté.

משרינהון, B. Voir משרינהון.

משרמוה, F, n. pr.

משרשוא, F n. pr. (Talmudique).

משררנותא, I, résidence.

כתווילא, G, n. pr.

אכתנא, F, corde.

נאנטי, C, femmes.

נגלה, F, I, découvert.

נדברן, F, pour ודבין, et de ses fils.

נדוי, G, repoussé.

נוך ou כוך, B, C, lumière. Outre. Trame.

נודרי, I, faiseurs de vœux.

וסדה, F, fondement, fondé.

שישחיה F. Voir מישחיה.

ניגלאין, B, découverts.

ניהוא, C, est dévenu.

ניהא, E, I, repos.

ניריך, A. Voir ניריך.

וכוחו, F. en face.

נבים, B, F, sortilège.

ובר, F, étranger.

א, Noé (chez les Mendaïtes).

תפח), G. souffle.

נפלא, B, F, G, n. pr. (? chute).

בפק, C, F, sortir.

רצו, C, I, briller, vaincre.

נקנוא, B, vengeance.

הקק, G, percer, cogner.

סבילי, G, support, voie.

סדרי, B, I, ordre.

סורה, B, mal, ce qui écarte (? n. pr.).

סטליה, G, écuelle (=situla).

סמנה, A, obstacle, accusateur,
Satan.

750, A, qui se détourne méprise.

סליחנא, F, de pénitence.

סלק, I, sortir.

Nao, F, G, poison.

אסמהתא, B, F, les noms.

סממי, I, être aveugle.

ססטורי, F, n. pr. (du radical DD, mite).

ססטימר, F, n. pr. (du radical DD, mite).

אסכלא, B, n. pr. (du radical DD, mite).

סכרבא, E, F, n. pr. (le grand Sass).

סריה, B, pourrir, sentir mauvais.

עדן, D, Eden (ou עידן temps).

עדר, I, tracer un sillon.

עורן, F, sa ville, son entourage.

עזביה, B, abandon.

עזקת, A, anneau.

עיאאל, G, n. pr. (? abrégé de

עינין, F, yeux (? עירין, veiller, dit Kohut, ib. p. 6).

עיך, F, ville.

ענך, F, ta misère (? de la racine עון).

עקיר, C, E, stérile.

ערימא. F, rusé (le serpent).

ערפירה, F, laisser. Faible. Nuque.

ערק. A, I, fuire, disparaître.

עתקא, B, ancien.

פומן, G, I, bouche, intérieur.

פוק, A, D, E, sortir.

סורת ou פורת, F, n. pr. (sort).

פכררם, F, renverser.

אבה, B, se tourner.

סיק, D, couper.

פרזל, I, fer.

פתכרי, B, I, démons, spectres.

.. יצי (?), D, n. pr.

צווף, G, siffler.

צורבה, G, bord.

ובע, F, cacher.

קוס, D, bois, forêt (? cri de chasse).

קומתיה, F, sa hauteur.

F, tuer.

קטיר, İ, attaché.

קיבליה, E. Voir ביקבליה.

קיטריה, B, fumée, brouillard. Nœud.

קל, B, F, voix. — G: ange

קלה, G, (= καλός), prison.

קמיה, A, E, devant.

קינין, C, I, acquèt.

קנם, I, conjurer.

קצף, G, colère.

קרו, B, F, accident. Ville.

קרח, C, lisse, froid (? Nord).

קריא, B, prince.

ראויאל, I, Raïel, n. pr. d'ange.

ראשיאל, I, Rasiel, n. pr. d'ange.

רובמא, F, G, le grand (de רובמא).

רחם, I, miséricordieux

ריך, F, éjection. Démon.

רכוב, E, chevaucher.

רניא, I, mauvais bruit.

רפאל, I, Raphael.

רשום, D, I, désignation, trace.

רתיחן, B, I, bouillir.

שבועתא, I, serment.

שבותת, I, habitation.

שר, A, démon.

שדר, F, assaillir.

ງິດຫະ, H, (abréviation d'un vœu).

שובכיה, G, nid.

אחופתא, F, consomption.

שחורין, F, noir.

ກບພ, C, voie.

שכן, I, voir.

שליניא, A, dominateur.

שממי, I, ciel.

שמת, C, anathème.

שעוה, B, G, heure.

שופלא, F, vallée.

שפר, B, précieux.

שקפתא, D, seuil. Vision, vue.

שראיה, F, principe(ou=כרה).

שרגא, A, lumière.

שרחתא, F, lascive (démon femelle).

שרי, G, I, séjourner, reposer

שרי, B, chose permise, déliée.

שריא, B, commencement.

שריות, F, commencement.

שרירי, G, lâcher.

שררי, I, dominer.

שררתא, I, (?) prairie.

שתם, I, dévaster.

תבירין, C, E, briser.

תוקפא, E, puissant.

תורא, F, bœuf.

תיחיאל, G, sans doute pour n. pr.

תיקף גברא, A, l'homme puissant (Salomon).

תניון, A, Voir בתניון.

[The other illustrations to this Paper will be issued with the next Number of the *Proceedings* (May). W. H. R.]



THE NAMES OF ISIS AND OSIRIS.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

One of our respected colleagues* has recently quoted a statement which I made in these *Proceedings* more than six years ago, viz.: that "The real names of Isis and Osiris in the classic times of Egypt are as yet open questions."† Whatever doubts I had at that time were, however, dispelled before many months were over; as may be seen by a note in the May number of the same year of the *Proceedings*. It may still be true that Egyptologists are not unanimous on the subject of these names; but that is because they have not paid attention to evidence which is palpable to all who will only take the trouble to look at it.

The evidence to which I refer is found in the variants of the divine names invoked in the Litany of Rā.

These names occur in a fixed order in the different royal tombs at Bāb el Molūk, and also on a monument of the same period as the tombs,—the Temple of Ramese sat Abydos.‡ The order of the names in the Temple only differs from that in the Tombs by alternating from the north to the south side of the chamber. The following table, consisting of the names from 11 to 22 inclusively, will show what I mean:—

Tombs.		Temple.					
		1	North Side.	•	South Side.		
No. 11. T	mu.			II.	Tmu.		
12. Cl	hepera.	12.	Cheperà.				
13. Sh	ıu.			13.	Shu.		
14. To	efnut.	14.	Tefnut.				
15. Se	b.			15.	Seb.		
16. N		16.	Nut.				
17.	S Isis.			17.	Isis.		
18. N	ephthys.	ı8.	Nephthys.				
- 11	Horus.			19.	Horus.		
20.	SS ∂ Nu.	20.	Nu.				
21. R	emi.			2 I.	Remi.		
. 22. H	uaai-ta.	22.	Huaai.				

^{*} Civiltà Cattolica, v, p. 664. † *Proceedings*, Feb., 1884, p. 95. ‡ Mariette, Abydos, tom. ii, pl. 14—17.

No importance whatever is to be attached to the beard which has thoughtlessly been added to the divine figure. I have referred to the undoubted name of Isis, $\mathring{\mathbb{Q}}$, which is written over a bearded figure in the papyrus of Suti Kenna. And I have during the last three or four years repeatedly met with similar blunders.

That a goddess was meant, and not a male personage, is evident from the text. A prayer is addressed to each divinity, and the sex of each divinity can be seen by the pronoun attached to the verb. The imperatives addressed to Tmu, Shu, Seb, and Horus have the masculine suffix \bigcirc ; the imperative addressed to Auset has the feminine \bigcirc .

It can no longer then be said that the name of Isis has not been found phonetically written. It is so written on the temple walls of Abydos.

Mistakes of course are conceivable; and with reference to this particular name it might be suspected that $\frac{1}{2}$ was wrongly written for $\frac{1}{2}$. But if the $\frac{1}{2}$ in Isis be the same as in $\frac{1}{2}$ there can be no doubt that $\frac{1}{2}$ u is a necessary part of the sound. And in proof of this I appeal to a document of the same date as the monuments we have been considering.

In the Hymn to Osiris with which the Papyrus of Ani begins we have the following play upon names:—

The name of Osiris is here connected by paronomasia with ns, just as Sekar is connected with ns sek. Brugsch has already quoted evidence of this kind from the texts of a later period. But there can be no doubt about the name at a time when it was written ns, ns, for ns

has the value of from the earliest times, and All occurs with the value of man in the inscriptions of Rameses II at Karnak.*

[1890.

The usual Phoenician transcription אוסירי is in exact agreement with the hieroglyphic reading, and is more correct than אסרי.

It is a very grave blunder to take the sign \bigcirc or \bigcirc in the forms $[\!]\bigcirc$, $[\!]\bigcirc$, $[\!]\bigcirc$, $[\!]\bigcirc$, $[\!]\bigcirc$ &c., as having the value $r\bar{a}$. The sign represents not the *Sun* but, as Champollion pointed out from the very first, the *eyeball*, used (especially in cursive writing) instead of the entire *eye*. It is constantly used in the hieratic transcription of $[\!]\bigcirc$ $[\!]$

The names which begin with the letter $\frac{8}{8}$ h have nothing to do with that of Isis. They are different appellatives, and may even represent different personifications of the Dawn or Sunset. If $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$

The name is not a variant of the but should be read Sexit. It is written in the inscriptions of Rameses II at Karnak, where it is brought into connection with the verb sexit, and also with the words sexit, and sexit, and also with the words sexit, and sexit, the valiant hunter. The pictures given in Champollion's sexit sexit, from the temple of Dakke are interesting, but they are of a late period, and seem only to imply personifica-

^{*} Champollion, Notices, II, 187.

[†] Denkm., II, 80, c.

[‡] Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 813; Brugsch, Dict. Geogr., p. 379, and 1329.

[§] Champollion, Notices, II, p. 41 and 42.

tion of rural life. I do not know how far the ancient 'huntress' is to be identified with the better known goddess $\mathcal{L} \cap \mathcal{L} \cap \mathcal{L}$ $Se_Xit.*$

For the edification of those who love such identifications, I will just add that the Egyptian Dawn-goddess Auset wonderfully resembles the Doric $a\dot{\omega}s$, Ionic $\dot{\eta}\dot{\omega}s$, and Aeolic $a\ddot{v}\omega s$, and I mention it for the purpose of showing what such resemblances are worth.

Far more important and instructive are the epithets of the $\epsilon v\theta \rho ovos$ and $\chi \rho v\sigma \delta\theta \rho ovos$ 'H\(\delta s\).

* Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology, Vol. III. This goddess, who was formerly called Pasht, is now not less erroneously called Somehit or Seehmet by some Egyptologists, who in this way build mares' nests for the confusion of great scholars like Lagarde (Uebersicht über die im Aramäischen, Arabischen und Hebraischen übliche Bildung der Nomina, p. 12). In the days of E. de Rougé and Chabas it would have been dangerous to venture on so gross an error. Signs originally different are confounded in the hieroglyphic , but when the phonetic complement is it has nothing to do with Sexet, and when the phonetic complements are it has nothing to do with sexem. There is just the same kind of mistake here as when the metal is called uasem. The sign is polyphonous, one of its values is uas, another is sem. There is no connection between the two, but some scholars persist in mixing them up into one. All is not progress in Egyptology, by any means!



NEITH OF SAIS.

Nomina numina.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

In the preface to his interesting Dissertation on the Worship of Neith at Sais, M. D. Mallet is inclined to apologize for having attached too much importance to the name of the goddess.

"La théorie, si brilliamment soutenue par M. Max Müller, sur le rôle prépondérant des mots dans la création des personnages mythologiques, paraît aujourd'hui fortement ébranlée. Le fameux *Nomina numina*, qui passait jadis pour une sorte d'axiome, est abandonné maintenant et singulièrement démodé. Nous le savons et ne prétendons point remonter le courant ni braver l'opinion nouvelle."

M. Mallet continues: "En Égypte cependant, les noms divins, qui tous sont significatifs, demandent à être examinés de très près."

This at least is most true. In Egyptian, as in all other languages, the divine names, like all names proper as well as common, are appellatives. Horus, for instance, Heru in Egyptian, is exactly equivalent to the Greek $\Upsilon \pi \epsilon \rho i \omega \nu$. It is immediately derived from the preposition her, 'above,' 'over.' It may often be difficult or even impossible to discover the etymological meaning of a word, but that the word had such a meaning is absolutely certain, and it is no argument against a philosophical truth, which Hobbes admitted as readily as Leibniz, that people differ about etymologies. True scholars are the only safe judges as to how far scepticism is allowable in this or that individual case.

It is only among persons thoroughly incompetent to form a judgment that the doctrine of "Nomina numina" has fallen into disrepute. I am not however going to argue upon it now, but only wish to show that the doctrine is one of the highest antiquity, even in Egypt.

In the 17th chapter of the Book of the Dead the Sun-god says:—

"I am the great god, self-produced, who creates all his names; the cycle of the gods."

This is the uninterpolated text of the earliest period. At a later time, and in the manuscripts of the eighteenth and later dynasties, the foregoing text is explained by the gloss:—

"It is Rā who creates the names of his limbs, which become those of the gods who are with him."

The doctrine taught by the Book of the Dead is simply this:-

The Sun has given rise to a diversity of names, and these names have become those of divinities mythologically associated with him. This is the exact truth, and it cannot be improved upon by modern theories drawn from the extremely approcryphal facts and doubtful inferences of anthropological dilettantism.

It is not probable that M. Mallet will long continue to defend his etymology of Neith from , a group implying (according to him) the idea of existence. "La conception philosophique personifiée en la déesse Neit ne serait autre que celle-ci: L'être, ce qui est, ou sous la forme féminine mieux adaptée à la mythologie vulgaire: Celle qui est."

Even the last mentioned interpretation is much too metaphysical a one. Mythological names are always drawn from attributes easily apprehended by the senses. And M. Mallet has not considered that it is only in a secondary way that the pronoun $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{$

I am not sure that I can myself give a satisfactory etymological meaning of the name of Neith, but I will try.

The Egyptian name of Neith is written , , , , , , , with other variants. The last one quoted has not been referred to by other scholars, as far as

I am aware; but it is found as the name of the goddess on a Saitic monument at Florence (No. 1522), in a prayer beginning

The here mentioned, as on all the Saitic monuments, † denote the great temple of Neith at Sais, and the goddess who is here designated as the central object, , in the temple is no other than Neith.

I have also quoted § the proper name of the goddess as appearing under the two equivalent forms and Ant is the name of a place where Neit and her son Sebak were worshipped together with other divinities.

The reading $se_{\chi}et$ as applied to the sign $\begin{tabular}{l} \begin{tabular}{l} \be$

^{*} Catalogo Generale dei Musei di Antichità (Serie sesta), vol. i, p. 223. Signor Schiaparelli translates the expression by "I' Ape che risiede nei templi"—"espressione che dovera riferirsi a qualche trasformazione d'Osiride, ancora non ben nota."

[†] The term itself, in this sense, is as ancient as the Pyramid texts; see *Unas*, line 609.

[‡] Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 99. Cf. Brugsch, Die Aegyptologie, p. 211.

[§] Proceedings, 1886, p. 253.

Antiquités, V, pl. 40. Cf. Sharpe, E.I., II, 11, 3.

[¶] Mariette, Denderah I, 25, line 5.

In the older days of our science no other value but χeb was known for the sign \mathcal{L} . Is this the value of the sign in the name of the Saitic \mathcal{L} ? I know no proof of it, and Dr. Wiedemann calls the place \mathcal{L} But unless there be evidence forthcoming it seems most probable that \mathcal{L} is like \mathcal{L} or \mathcal{L} Hat Nait, 'the House of Neith,' the sacred name of Sais.

The great goddess is the Mistress of Heaven and the Mighty Mother of Rā. She is also the Mother of Osiris, and the Mother of Sebak.*

Rā, Osiris, and Sebak are names of the Sun. Neith like other goddesses is generally identified with the Sky. But this identification is not sufficiently precise. The Sungod is not the Son of the Noonday or of the Midnight Sky. It is that part of the sky only where he is born that is his mother. The goddess who is his mother or sister is part of the solar phenomenon; and this is indicated in various ways. The goddess is (x,y) 'Eye of the Sun,' or she is (x,y) 'Eye of the Sun,' or she is (x,y) 'Eye of the Sun,' as is said of Neith. The (x,y) and, path or highway of the Sun, is clear enough: it runs from East to West. But what are the mansions of his mother, Nit, Hathor, or by whatever name she may be called?

To this question I reply in the words of a great and popular writer upon astronomy:— ‡

"Each star rises and sets at the same points of the horizon throughout the entire year. The points of rising and setting of

^{*} This filiation was known from the late texts at Esneh (Champollion, Mon., pl. 145, quinq. 4), but it has now been found in the Pyramid texts: "Unas" (line 629) "takes his place in the horizon, he rises like Sebak son of Neith." It is impossible to quote more ancient authority. From what unknown source then is the information derived that Sebak was originally a mere deified crocodile, and only at a late period identified with the Sun?

[‡] Arago, Astronomy, VII, 3, English Translation, Vol. I, p. 164.

the Sun, on the contrary, are continually varying. From the 21st of December till the 21st of June, the Sun rises daily in situations which are more and more northerly. From the 21st of June till the 21st of December following, we observe a movement of the opposite kind. The diurnal courses of the stars seem to be attached to a determinate horizon by fixed points; we see, on the contrary, that the points of the same horizon corresponding to the apparent diurnal course of the Sun are continually changing."

It is apparently in accordance with these facts, which are evident to simple observation without the aid of science, that in the mythological texts the Sungod is said to be born in Tattu, Ån, Sechem or other localities; which in this connection are not to be considered as geographical realities, but are points on the horizon varying according to the season of the year.

And this is also what, I believe, is meant by the $\parallel \parallel \parallel \parallel$, the stations of the Mother of the Sun, which change according to the season, and from each of which in turn she "opens the paths," $\tau \dot{\alpha}s$ $\tau \rho i \beta \sigma v s \dot{\eta} \lambda \iota \dot{\sigma} v$.

If the true nature of Neith is once understood, as a personification, not simply of the Sky, but of the Sky giving birth to the Sun, it will not be difficult to arrive at a satisfactory etymology.

The name of Neith has for determinatives the *Shuttle* \mathring{A} and *Arrows* $\mathring{\searrow}$.* The goddess is frequently represented on the monuments as in the act of *shooting* or holding a bow and arrows.

And she is described in a canonical text, published by Brugsch,† as "fitting her arrow to her bow, and overthrowing the adversaries" of Osiris "daily." Between shuttle and shoot the connection is manifest in all our northern languages. The shuttle is shot.

The Wasp \sqrt{k} , which has Nat for one of its names, has evidently the same original meaning. Its sting is the arrow which it darts. It is 'the Shooter.'

Neith, Nait, signifies "she who shooteth," ή τοξότης.

The ancient Egyptian conception is preserved in the Coptic verb \mathfrak{NEX} , \mathfrak{NOX} , corresponding to the Greek $\beta \dot{a} \lambda \lambda \epsilon \omega$, $\dot{\rho} i \pi \tau \epsilon \omega$. $\mathfrak{NEX} \mathfrak{ULS}$

^{*} See picture in Lanzone, Dizionario, p. 443, and plates 175, 2, and 177, 3.

[†] Dict. Geogr., p. 1064, line 63, 64.

is to "shoot out flames"; the Greek τοξότης in Sam. 1, xxxi, 3, is rendered in Coptic by NEX COOTE, "shooter of arrows." *

The arrows of the Dawn-goddess Neith are the rays of the Sun. The metaphor is a common one in Greek literature. The $\mathring{\eta}\lambda\acute{\iota}ov$ $\beta o\lambda\acute{a}\iota$ are repeatedly mentioned by the Tragic writers and others. H $\tau \rho i\acute{\beta}os$ $\pi \rho o\acute{s}$ $\mathring{\eta}\lambda\acute{\iota}ov$ $\beta o\lambda\acute{a}s$ and $\kappa a\tau\grave{a}$ $\mathring{\eta}\lambda\acute{\iota}ov$ $\beta o\lambda\acute{a}s$ are expressions equivalent to $\pi \rho o\acute{s}$ $\mathring{a}\kappa \tau \hat{\iota}\nu a$, and in the Ajax+ of Sophocles we read of $\tau \mathring{\eta}\nu$ $\mathring{a}\phi'$ $\mathring{\eta}\lambda\acute{\iota}ov$ $\beta o\lambda \hat{u}v$ $\kappa\acute{e}\lambda \epsilon v\theta ov$.

The same metaphor is applicable to Neith considered as the Eye of the Sun. The $\partial\phi\theta a\lambda\mu\hat{w}\nu$ $\beta o\lambda\dot{\eta}$ occurs throughout Greek literature, down from the time of the Homeric poems. It is in direct connection with the widespread superstition of the Evil Eye, and the terrors of the "Jettatura."

I will add one more observation. The important name in the Royal Tombs is to be explained in this way. If according to the analogy of many similar forms is equivalent to if nait-ta, t" he who is distinguished by the red crown of the companion o

† Line 877, on which see the note of Lobeck.

The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 6th May, 1890, at 8 p.m., when the following Papers will be read:

- P. LE P. RENOUF (*President*), "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."
- REV. C. J. BALL, "The Terms for 'God' and 'Sacrifice' in Accadian and Chinese."

^{*} The etymological sense of nàit, when signifying king or high official is more obscure; but it may be pointed out that the Coptic has preserved the words NOX, NOO, 'shooting ahead,' in the senses 'magnus,' 'magnas,' 'senior,' 'major,' 'dux,' 'princeps.' The t in nàit is radical, and is palatalized in X and O.

SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY PUBLICATIONS.



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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XII. TWENTIETH SESSION.

Sixth Meeting, May 6th, 1890.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

Sixth Meeting, 6th May, 1890.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq, President,

IN THE CHAIR.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—Herodots Zweites Buch, mit sachlichen erläuterungen. Leipzig. 8vo. 1800.

From the Author, E. de Bunsen:—Die Ueberlieferung Ihre Entstehung und Entwickelung. (2 vols.) Leipzig. 1889.

From F. L. Griffith:—Two Hieroglyphic Papyri from Tanis. 4to. London. 1889.

Extra Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

ordered to be returned to the Donors:-

From the Author, C. F. Lehmann:—Das Verhältniss des ägyptischen metrischen Systems zum babylonisch.

Aus den Verhandl. der Berliner Anthrop. Gesell. 19th October, 1889.

From the Author, C. F. Lehmann:—Ueber das babylonische metrische System und dessen Verbreitung.

Verhandl. der. Physik. Gesell. zu Berlin. November, 1889. Jahr. 8. November 15th.

[No. xcii.]

From the Author, Rev. C. A. de Cara:—Degli Hittîm o Hethei e delle loro migrazioni.

Civilta Cattolica, Quad. 954. 15th Marzo, 1890, and Quad. 956. 19th Aprile, 1890.

From the Author, Dr. A. Wiedemann:—Three notices of Books, from the Neue Philologische Rundschau (No. 1) and Bonner Jahrbüchern (88).

The following Candidate was elected a Member of the Society, having been nominated at the last Meeting on 4th March, 1890:—

Edward Oxenford Preston, West Lodge, Cookham, Berks.

The following Candidates were nominated for election at the next Meeting on 3rd June, 1890:—

M. S Schekiné, Menschikova Bachnia, Great Ouspensky Street 3, Moscow.

Rev. Tupper Carey, R.D., F.G.S., Ebbesborne Wake, Salisbury.

Bartlett D. Wrangham, 7, Claremont Place, Sheffield.

Dr. Bruto Teloni, Via della Fortezza 4, Florence.

Rev. Henry Walter Reynolds, St. Thomas Vicarage, Elm Road, Camden New Town, N.W.

To be added to the List of Subscribers:—

Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, New Jersey, U.S.A.

A Paper was read by P. le Page Renouf (President), "The Priestly Character of the Earliest Egyptian Civilization."

Remarks were added by Rev. A. Löwy, Rev. C. J. Ball, and Rev. James Marshall.

The President being obliged to leave, the Chair was taken by the Rev. J. Marshall.

A Paper was read by the Rev. C. J. Ball, "The Terms for 'God' and 'Sacrifice' in Accadian and Chinese," which will appear in the next number of the *Proceedings*.

Remarks were added by Rev. James Marshall, Rev. A. Löwy, and Mr. J. Tyler.

Thanks were returned for these Communications.

THE PRIESTLY CHARACTER OF THE EARLIEST EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION.

By P. LE P. RENOUF (President).

Pure a priori assumptions as to what the condition of Egyptian society must have been whilst progressing from the savage state to a more civilized stage of existence are absolutely worthless. We know nothing whatever of the Egyptians until their earliest monuments exhibit a state of material civilization which was never surpassed. This early period was unquestionably preceded by a still earlier one, during which these arts and sciences must have been cultivated, without which it would have been impossible to raise the pyramids, to execute in diorite such a statue as that of Chāfrā, or to decorate the tomb of Ti. But of this earlier period nothing whatever is known beyond the mere names of certain kings. The Greek records respecting these monarchs, even if derived from Egyptian sources, are beneath contempt. The only authorities which deserve attention are the monuments belonging to the period which is being studied.

The titles of the king of Egypt are still generally misunderstood, in spite of the explanations of M. Grébaut, which have indeed been contradicted, but have not been refuted. It has never been doubted that the king claimed actual divinity; he was the "great god," the "golden Horus," and son of Rā. He claimed authority not only over Egypt, but over "all lands and nations," "the whole world in its length and its breadth, the east and the west," "the entire compass of the great circuit of the sun," "the sky and what is in it, the earth and all that is upon it," "every creature that walks upon two or upon four legs, all that fly or flutter, the whole world offers her productions to him." Whatever in fact might be asserted of the Sun-god, was dogmatically predicable of the king of Egypt. His titles were directly derived from those of the Sun-god.

There is not the slightest evidence that was signified King of Upper and Lower Egypt. The King was like the Sun, master

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of the South and of the North. Whatever the Sun passed over or through was divided into two and grammatically took the dual form, as \bigcirc_{N} , χuta , the horizon where the Sun rises or sets, 1. abta, the East, 2. amenta, the West. The 'Two Earths' , do not signify Upper and Lower Egypt, but the Earth as traversed and divided by the Sun. The expression is a common one in divine titles. Osiris, both in his own name and in that of Ap-uat, is $\bigcap \times \widehat{f}$, \widehat{ap} sat tau, 'divider of the Earth.' Apuat of the North is $\uparrow \Box \Box$, $\chi erp \ pet$, 'director of Heaven,' and Apuat of the South is # , χerp tau, 'director of the Earth,'* These two designations form the best commentary on the Greek expression of the inscription of Rosetta, καθάπερ ὁ ήλιος, μέγας βασιλεύς των τε ἄνω καὶ των κάτω χωρών, "like the Sun, the great king of the regions above and the regions below." T, sam-tau, "he who binds together the two Earths," is a well known title of Horus, and the act of this binding is represented on many royal statues from the earliest times.† It has nothing to do with the union of Upper and Lower Egypt, nor has the title , neb vau, 'Lord of the two Earths.'

The Egyptian king's claim to universal sovereignty, as son and living image of the Sun, finds a striking parallel in the title of the Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs, *šarru kibrat arbai*, 'King of the Four Quarters of the World.'

It was in consequence of the royal claim to sovereignty over North and South that various government departments are habitually spoken of in the dual. The king is called , and his officers are called , and so on. There was but one department in each case, not one for Upper and another for Lower Egypt.

The divinity of the King is however no proof of the priestly character of Egyptian society. The proof will be found in the accurate study of all the ancient monuments. Lepsius had already observed ‡ that, from the numerous inscriptions in the tombs near the pyramids, he could almost draw up a Court and Official Calendar

^{*} Todt., 142, 5, 24, 25. † Denkm., II, 116. ‡ Briefe aus Aegypten, p. 24.

for the reigns of Cheops and Chephren, and M. Maspero with equal justice repeats the assertion.* Now the most cursory inspection of the inscriptions collected by Lepsius, Mariette, de Rougé and Maspero, will show that almost every person who has left an inscription bearing his name, had among his titles at least one of an unmistakeably sacerdotal character, such as some form of Rā, Sut, Osiris, Horus, Ptah, Sekru, Chnum, Sesheta, Heqait, Maāt, and other deities, besides those whose priestly offices were due to the ka of this or that sovereign. The ladies were priestesses of Hathor or Neith. M. de Rougé, speaking of the wife of Ti, says: "Comme toutes les princesses, Nefer-hotep-s était prêtresse." †

Of the few great personages of whom we cannot prove the priestly character, it is equally impossible to prove that they did not possess it.

Dr. Erman has directed attention to the fact that the important office of 3% is combined with priestly offices of every kind, but particularly with the priesthoods of Māat and of Ḥeqait.‡

^{* &}quot;Des renseignements recueillis dans leurs tombeaux on pourraît reconstituer l' Almanach Royal de la cour de Khouson jusque dans ses plus petits détails." Histoire ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient, p. 59.

[†] Monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux Six Premières Dynasties, p. 97.

¹ Aegupten, p. 125.

[§] Monuments des Six Premières Dynasties, p. 62.

The Suteniu are known from other texts, and Brugsch† with great reason derives the name from \$\int_{\operation}^{\infty}\$, seten, to slaughter: \$\frac{1}{2}\infty\$, suten, is 'one who slaughters an animal for sacrifice.' It was a priest of this kind who was ordered to kill the Bull in the Tale of the Two Brothers. This \$\int_{\operation}^{\infty}\$ \infty\$ coccupies a very high position in the list of priests mentioned in the Wood Papyrus; and it is surely a gross mistake to translate the word by the term 'Butcher.' The acts of slaughter which he performed were not those of a tradesman, but of a minister of the gods. The same mistake is made in giving the sense of 'butcher' to \$\int_{\operation}^{\infty}\$ \infty\$, menhu, a term applied to kings and gods. The god is thus invoked as Suten, but certainly not as butcher, on a statue in the Louvre.



'O thou Cleaver, who dividest the heaven with the two feathers.' \$

It is indeed quite clear that the title of a priest was in many cases one of the epithets or designations of the god he worshipped, and whose acts he symbolically performed. §

But there is very much older evidence than the priestly lists of Dendera and Edfu. The funereal rites go back to the earliest times, and among the priests who officiate at the ceremony of

^{*} Brugsch, Dict. Géogr., pp. 1374, 1377.

[†] Dict., Suppl., p. 1158.

¹ Pierret, Inscriptions inédites, I, 3.

[§] Compare this view with Brugsch, Religion und Mythologie, p. 65 and following.

The latter title, which meets us on countless inscriptions, has had a remarkable destiny at the hands of Egyptologists. M. de Rougé, seeing that many great personages at the Egyptian count bore the title, mildly hasarded a suggestion about it. "Peut-être doit-on le comparer au titre ptolémaïque $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu \phi \iota \lambda \hat{\omega} \nu$." M. de Rougé himself however did not attach much importance to this conjecture, and he would certainly not have ventured upon it had he known that the Ptolemaic $\phi \iota \lambda o \iota$ or $\dot{\epsilon} \tau a \hat{\iota} \rho o \iota$ were not originally Egyptian but Macedonian.* They were introduced into Egypt and Syria by the Macedonian kings of those countries; and the Roman emperors imitated the eastern courts in their 'amici Augusti' and in their 'comites,' our Counts. There is not a particle of evidence that $\prod_{i=1}^{\infty} ever meant$ 'friend.' It is impossible to quote a single Egyptian text in which the word is so used, and to quote the Coptic $\mathbf{u} \Phi \mathbf{n} \mathbf{p}$ as its representative is to insult etymology.

From first to last *smer* is the name of an *officer*, and it is in virtue of his office as *smer* that he officiates in the religious ceremonies of the Ritual.

The title is not necessarily one confined to the male sex. Queen Meri-Seānch, for instance, at this court of Chāfrā, besides being priestess of Thoth and of other gods, was had a second to the secon

The proparenta propa

^{*} It has been thought probable that Alexander borrowed this institution, as well as others, from the Persian Court. This is not the case. The institution is older in Macedon than Alexander's father, Philip. The readers of Demosthenes are familiar with the $\pi \iota \zeta \acute{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \iota \rho \iota \iota$, the foot-guards. The horse-guards were called $\acute{\epsilon} \tau \alpha \widetilde{\iota} \rho \iota \iota$ or $\phi \acute{\iota} \lambda \iota \iota$.

nineteenth dynasties are very blind guides as to the etymology of one of the most ancient words of the language.

M. Maspero has lately discussed the word which he calls Ropâit or Repāït, and he argues throughout as if this orthography was the " O ROPĀÏT après avoir désigné les princes indé ancient one. pendants qui se partageaient la vallée du Nil avant Mînî," &c. The name was not so written till considerably more than a thousand years later. But supposing it had been so written, what would it signify?

"

, PĀÏTOU, un très vieux mot qui sert à désigner les hommes de même origine, le clan, la tribu: le ______. Ropāït est donc à proprement parler un chef de clan, un gardien d'hommes, à l'époque historique, le prince héréditaire d'un nome." Now whence is all this information derived? Who has ever seen a text in which the Egyptian Pāit signifies a clan or tribe? Pāit are undoubtedly human beings, but their place is not upon earth but in the Tuat or Augerta. They are men of the past, just as the nen of the future, unborn generations circling round the sun. If any one knows of an Egyptian text which proves the Pait to be men still living upon the earth, let him produce it.

The $Erp\bar{a}$, whatever the etymology of the word may be, was certainly a priest. The great nomarchs of the twelfth and later dynasties had this title, and moreover, as M. Maspero rightly observes, "Les princes de Minieh étaient prêtres de Hor et de Pakhit et les princes de Oun étaient chefs du sacerdoce de Thot."* But the priestly office of the $Erp\bar{a}$ is more ancient than the feudal dignity.

The word is a designation of the god Seb from the earliest times. If I could see my way clear to accept the derivation $er + p\bar{a}$, first proposed by Dr. K. Piehl, the sense would be clear enough. Seb (the personification of the Earth) has in his keeping all those who are buried, all the past generations. The mythological enemies

In any case it is certain that $Erp\bar{a}$ is like *Suten* and other titles the epithet of a god which has been assigned to an Egyptian priesthood.*

The two next priesthoods which I shall mention may serve as illustrations of this kind of transfer.

The other priestly title of the princes of Minieh to which M. Maspero refers is $\sqrt{}$, the true reading of which I have shown to be $u\underline{t'eb}$. In the later times it is often called $\sqrt{}$ seut'eb.

Another title which goes back to the most remote periods is that of , āt mer. The references given by Dr. von Bergmann, tleave no doubt as to the correct reading of the title, which is also written on a monument of the time of Taharqa. And another variant on the same monument is evidently the equivalent of the first of Edfu (mentioned on an inscription of Dendera) who at Edfu itself are simply called and enumerated among the priesthoods of the temple. There were also priests of the same kind at Dendera.

at mer is an epithet of Anubis in the Pyramid Texts.

I will mention but one more title, which has been generally understood in the wide sense of favourite. A hesu appears in all the ancient texts to designate a distinct office. The

^{*} The relation between the title and the god is sometimes alluded to. See Denkm. II, 17, and III, 25,

[†] Proceedings, May 6, 1884, on the Egyptian god (\) \(\frac{1}{2} \). Without having seen what I have written Brugsch appears to have arrived at the same conclusion as mine with reference to the reading of this name. He says, "über diesen noch unbekannten Namen (Ut'eb) des Gottes werde ich die Beweise in den ÄZ liefern." Religion d. a. Aegypter, note 1043.

[‡] Recueil, VII, p. 176.

[§] Mariette, Denderah, I, p. 15.

who came after the who the on the ancient tablets were persons bound by religious duties of an official nature. Queen Meriseanch was I hesit urit. This does not mean that she was a 'great favourite,' but that she was 'archpriestess' of some religious body.

This rapid enumeration of some of the most frequent and important Egyptian titles is, without entering into minor details, sufficient to direct attention to the striking fact that, for many centuries of the Egyptian monarchy (which in theory always remained a theocracy), almost every noble and wealthy personage employed in the administration of the different departments of the State, belonged to one or more of the many priesthoods of the country.



SEB OR QEB; SECHET AND SECHEMET.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

The sketch* in outline, which Dr. Brugsch is now publishing, of the results of Egyptological research, is everywhere being read with the interest which is necessarily attached to all the utterances of one who more than any other living scholar has furnished material to every branch of Egyptology.

The readers of these *Proceedings*† will remember that two years ago Dr. Brugsch honoured me with a letter on the subject of the Egyptian god "dont la lecture *Seb* ou *Keb* demande de nouvelles preuves." And he quoted "an instance which militates in favour of *Keb*."

I did not think it necessary to reply, and my respectful silence was occasioned by the fact that Brugsch's "striking instance," however explained, in no way contradicted anything that I had said in my paper on the god Seb. I had expressly stated that the god's name in the latest period was often written △ ∫, but I showed that the △ was derived from a cursive form of ⋌, and ⇐, which also occurs in the god's name, is equally derived from another cursive form of the Bird. There is consequently nothing surprising in such a passage at Edfu as

It is Brugsch himself who has placed the "(sic)" under the sign \square , which is probably an error. I will just alter it into \square , which is a well known determinative of \square \square \square \square \square \square \square sebia, a word which like the Coptic cws. has the meanings "laugh at, mock, treat contemptuously." In the classic days of Egyptian orthography this word was never written with an initial \square , but at the time of the Edfu texts \square is the commonest of variants for the letter \square s. Taking the sign \square as the determinative of spitting,

^{*} Die Aegyptologie, ein Grundriss der Aegyptischen Wissenschaft, von Prof. Dr. Heinrich Brugsch. Leipzig, 1889.

[†] June 5, 1888.

the passage may be read alliteratively: sebāa-k em ta xer Seb, "thou art contemptuously spitten upon the earth, in presence of Seb."

In his new work (p. 172) Dr. Brugsch refers with satisfaction to his letter in these *Proceedings*, and then gives another instance from the Pyramid of Merenrā I, col. 126.

akabkab ab en mut-ek her-ek em ren-ek en Seb, which I translate: "the heart of thy mother wails over thee in thy name of Seb;" and I do not see what possible objection can be raised either to my transcription or to my version. Brugsch takes no notice of "the heart." Ababab akabkab is the regular reduplicated form of akab, which every one can see in Brugsch's Lexicon signifies 'wail, cry.' My learned opponent conjectures "bent" as the meaning of akabkab, and refers to his work on Egyptian Religion and Mythology for an explanation, upon which I have already spoken at length.* The verbal alliteration which he sees in the above passage presupposes as proved something which is yet in question. And it must be remembered that rhyme as well as alliteration had a large part in the Egyptian play upon words.

^{*} Proceedings, Feb., 1887, p. 94. Since I wrote that paper my attention was attracted by what M. Maspero calls a new determinative of "" "awakening," Recueil, III, p. 198. That determinative fully explains the picture of Seb at sunrise.

[†] Proceedings, 1887, p. 87. To the proofs there given let me add another which is interesting for its own sake. One of the gods in the Book of the Tuat is called III seb-tu (Lefébure, Tombeau de Seti I, pt. IV, pl. 33). The word means "armed with the knife called sha," of Brugsch, Lexicon, p. 1188. I suspect that sba is the name of the 22nd Nome of Upper Egypt, which Brugsch first called Seft, and later on Mātennu.

O, with which the god's name very frequently begins, express in every other case a syllable beginning with s? If it be granted that each of these signs is polyphonous, where can a case be found of four polyphonous signs being homophonous in more than one value? Are Egyptologists to shut their eyes to these and other difficulties which no one has attempted to solve? If it can be shown that the god's name is written keb, let it be so called whenever it is so written, but it is most unscholar-like to read it so when it is written or keb, which is most certainly Seb. keb
2. When I protested in a recent note against the practice of calling the goddess \(\sum_{\infty}^{\infty} \) Sechet by the name Somchit or Sechmet, I carefully avoided denying the existence of a goddess who might rightfully bear the latter name. And I was fully aware that there was evidence which might tempt the unwary to identify Sechet with Sechmet. But the temptation is precisely one of those which a well grounded scholar is bound to resist.

Among the deities whose pictures are given in the different copies of the *Book of the Am-Tuat* there is one whose name occurs there as $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \\ \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$, and in a much more ancient text, both $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \\ \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$ and $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$, and in a much more ancient text, both $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$ and $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$, on the Sarcophagus of *Necht-her-heb*) as $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$, but else- $\left\{ \begin{array}{c} \bigcirc \end{array} \right\}$. Now surely, it may be said, here is evidence of the very best kind. The evidence is certainly undeniable, but what do the witnesses really say? They must be rightly understood before any conclusion is drawn.

^{*} Antiquités, V, pl. 41, 5. Sharpe, Inscr., II, 12, line 6.

[†] Voyage d'un Egyptien, p. 349.

[‡] Zeitschrift, 1867, p. 53.

convinced, and so was Mr. Goodwin, who had been inclined to agree with him.* The truth is that $\bigcap_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcap_{j=1}^{\infty}$ and $\bigcap_{i=1}^{\infty}\bigcap_{j=1}^{\infty}$ are not phonetic variants, but different readings which have come down from independent texts.

And this is the case with *all* the double readings assigned to the names of these gods on the sarcophagi and sometimes in the papyri. They agree in most cases as is quite natural, but there are occasional discrepancies, and it requires the exercise of a critical judgment to decide when this is the case.

The paleographical argument is of considerable importance. In the two most ancient cursive documents† which admit of the comparison, the initial sign of \bigcirc is different from the initial sign of \bigcirc . The hieroglyphic sign \bigcirc in these groups stands for two different things, and consequently with two different values.

When it is followed by \mathbb{R} the value is $se\chi em$, not $se\chi + em$; the \mathbb{R} may be omitted without altering the sound of the group. \mathbb{R} $se\chi em$ was the name of a sceptre having the form of \mathbb{R} , as may be seen in the plates 28 and 38 of Lepsius' Aelteste Texte. At a later time $se\chi em$ came to signify a 'sistrum.'

When the sign is followed by the complementary letters the value is $se\chi et$, a word which is susceptible of various meanings. The name of the goddess sometimes has for its initial sign a sistrum $^{+}$. It is evident therefore that the sceptre and the sistrum have been confounded under one hieroglyphic sign, and the ambiguity caused by this confusion easily explains differences of reading. The may be read either as $se\chi et$ or as $se\chi emet$, and a copyist would supply a $^{\circ}$ 0 or a $^{\circ}$ 1 according as he understood the text.

I will give one or two instances in proof of the necessity of subjecting to criticism these most valuable lists of gods, before using them in evidence.

^{*} Zeitschrift, 1868, p. 107.

[†] The Book of the Dead of Queen Mentuhotep, c. 26, 4 and elsewhere, and the Berlin Papyrus I, Tale of Sinehit; cf. line 45 with lines 189 and 211.

[‡] E.g., the great Harris Papyrus, pl. 43.

[§] The difference was still recognized by the latest scribes. See the Calendar of Edfu in Brugsch, *Drei Fest-Kalender*, pl. II, line 14, fin, where the name of the goddess is written with a different sign from that of the word which precedes it.

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One of the cynocephalous gods in the tomb of Seti I is called $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \dot{a}b\dot{a}b$ -ta or $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \dot{a}\dot{a}b$.* This second form is the error of a careless copyist, who has omitted the first $\frac{\partial}{\partial t}$ and the final $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \dot{a}b$. In writing the name of this god in the tomb of Rameses IV, $\frac{1}{2}$ the artist has twice misread $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \dot{a}b$ for $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \dot{a}b$ and $\frac{\partial}{\partial t} \dot{a}b$ -ta.

A closer examination of these texts will reveal a host of other mistakes.

Let me finally‡ refer to a diorite statue of the goddess, of the time of Amenophis III, at Turin, upon which her name, according to Lanzone, is phonetically written $\bigcap_{i=1}^{\infty}$ as well as $\begin{cases} \bigcirc \\ \bigcirc \\ - \end{cases}$ §

* Lefébure, pt. IV, pl. 26. † Denkm., III, pl. 225.

‡ I have taken no notice of the apparent or real play upon words in the Destruction of Mankind (lines 14 and 15) between sexem and Sexet, which cannot possibly justify the inference that the name of the goddess must be read Sochmit.

§ Dizionario, pl. 363, I.



NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE ÉGYPTIENNE.

PAR KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.*)

13. Sous cette forme, les textes ptolémaïques nous offrent quelquefois un mot égyptien, dont le sens paraît être "collier, ornement de cou."

À Edfou,† un roi présente un collier à "Horus d'Edfou, dieu grand, seigneur du ciel, beau de face, dont les yeux sont en fête, seigneur des colliers, pourvu d'ornements, dont la splendeur égaie les déesses." Au-dessus du roi se lit la légende suivante :

"Le pharaon pare la poitrine de son père et orne son buste du collier appelé *àn-rech* (?)."

Le parallélisme des phrases, appuyé par la représentation susmentionnée, rend notre acception du mot nouveau absolument indiscutable.

^{*} Continued from Proceedings, Vol. XII, p. 125.

[†] Comparez Piehl, Nouvelle Série d'Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques, copiées en Égypte (Leipzig, J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandl., 1890), pl. I, lignes I, 2.

Ne sachant la vraie lecture du groupe ptolémaïque , j'hésite s'il faille le rapprocher du copte phui, Torques, Monile, Pondus. Évidemment, ce dernier mot est dérivé du verbe pou, gravis esse (cfr. Brugsch, Wörterbuch, VI, page 834), et en choisissant comme désignation du collier, le mot phui, on a eu pour point de départ l'usage qu'avaient les Égyptiens comme d'autres peuples de porter suspendus autour du cou, en guise d'ornements, les anneaux qui dans le commerce servaient de poids.

En admettant pour , la lecture *an-rech*, le sens du nom de collier en question devient "l'inconnu, le très-précieux," désignation qui convient fort bien à un objet que Pharaon pouvait offrir à son dieu. Néanmoins, cette lecture admise, il n'y a pas d'impossibilité de rapprocher notre groupe du mot copte PHCUI, les lois phonétiques favorisant un pareil développement (*an-rech* \(\text{ àresch} \(\text{ àresch} \(\text{ haresch} \); surtout comme nous ne savons à quel genre appartient le groupe qui nous occupe. Mais alors il faut accorder à l'étymologie populaire * sa part dans le développement que nous venons de présumer.

14. Parmi les particularités qui caractérisent le dialecte thébain par rapport au dialecte bohaïrique de la langue copte, on a relevé l'intercalation en certain cas d'un n là, où devant la lettre finale ce dernier dialecte n'en emploie pas. Suivant Peyron (Grammatica Linguæ Copiicæ, page 18), il paraît que la forme thébaine dans ces cas soit antérieure, quant au temps, à la forme bohairïque. Stern (Kopt. Grammatik, page 52) laisse la question de l'âge des formes respectives indécise, car il dit: "Im sah. Dialecte ist n einige male im Inlaute vor auslautendem ceingefügt oder erhalten worden." À la vérité, si l'on excepte la particule relative et boh., no théb., je crois que les autres exemples, cités par M. Stern,† parlent unanimement en faveur de l'antériorité des formes bohaïriques. C'est que ces dernières s'expliquent directement d'anciennes racines égyptiennes où le n intercalé n'apparaît que par exception.

^{*} J'ai déjà assez souvent eu l'occasion de faire valoir l'étymologie populaire comme moyen d'expliquer certains mots égyptiens.

^{*} Aux exemples cités par M. STERN, on peut ajouter: INANTE, théb. [ZOEGA, Catalogus, 101, 102] = INATE, boh.; WANT, théb., "nez" = WAI, boh. [de l'ancien 360]

Cette tendance du thébain d'insérer un n devant un t final a dû reposer sur un goût particulier pour la combinaison de son -nt, goût propre aux anciens habitants du Saïd. Cette observation est confirmée par le fait, que certains mots à un ancien -n final, ont adopté au dialecte thébain un t paragogique. Par exemple, ANTK théb., "sans toi" = ATONOK boh.; COTENT (+suffixe) théb. = COTENT (+suffixe) boh. S'il y a, comme je crois, une liaison entre les deux particularités, il faut supposer que la combinaison de son -nt dans ce dernier cas a été supporté par une voyelle non-accentuée [ou peut-être par une voyelle, ayant un "demi-petit accent "; car nous ne connaissons pas encore les différentes espèces d'accent du copte].

Comme une curiosité, on peut noter que, encore aujourd'hui, on rencontre au Saïd des traces d'une prédilection pour la combinaison de son nt, là où les habitants de l'Égypte du nord se contentent d'un -t simple. Comparez le mot arabe signifiant "fille," qui à Thèbes se prononce bent, tandis que le Cairotes prononcent bet. (Le t a dans les deux exemples un timbre emphatique.)

Maintenant, on peut se demander, si la loi de transition que nous venons d'observer pour les dialectes du copte, est reflétee par la langue ancienne. En effet, nous pouvons relever dans les textes hiéroglyphiques un nombre de mots qui soit intercalent soit omettent la lettre n devant un -t final, par exemple:

^{*} Je crois qu'il est inutile de lire *Sechemti*, le nom de la déesse $\{a, b\}$ appartenant au nombre des consonnes qui servent à élargir les racines.

À côté de ses exemples qui nous fournissent les deux formes, celle qui intercale le n et celle qui l'omet, nous pouvons citer une série de mots à -n intercalé, pour lesquels nous n'avons pas noté la forme non élargie. En voici quelques preuves:—

Harris, N° 1] udennunt, smedent [Brugsch, Wörterb., VII, p. 1066]; (?). et d'autres encore, dont au moins quelques-unes doivent avoir des correspondants sans -n intercalé.

L'examen de la liste que nous venons de donner de mots hiéroglyphiques, ayant des formes à ou sans -n intercalé, montre bien que, si dans quelques cas, la difference entre les deux formes [comme p. ex. O] par rapport à O] a dû être purement dialectale, il y en a d'autres, où l'on a aspiré à produire rapport à !!! O. Cette considération me porte à supposer, que le caractère de marque dialectale de l'intercalation de la lettre n, dans le cas qui nous occupe, est relativement récent. Je ne serais point étonné, qu'originairement, elle fût un moyen de différencier deux mots de source commune. P. ex., il serait possible, que les deux vieux verbes "descendre le Nil" et "remonter le Nil," fussent d'une même racine chet, "bouger, aller, marcher, partir," ou quelque chose de pareil, et que pour établir une distinction entre "aller vers les sources du Nil," et "aller vers son embouchure," on ait créé une nouvelle forme à n intercalé. Cela ne serait pas plus dûr que, p. ex., lorsqu'on a différencié la vielle racine pet dans les deux formes a "ciel" et " " arc," ou quand, dans le copte, l'ancien mot

^{*} La plupart des égyptologues semblent conférer à la désinence de de vocables analogues, la valeur de particule relative.

Ainsi p. ex. le groupe cet transcrit par smţ (½b nt) [Brugsch, l. l. VII, 1066.]

fendu en BHX, BHT accipiter, EBWK, milvus, &BWK, &BOK corvus.*

Par les remarques qui précédent, j'ai voulou fixer l'attention des égyptologues sur un problème qui mérite d'être sérieusement pris en considération, j'entends la question très importante de décider, si la terminaison en par rapport à celle en représente réellement une particularité dialectale, et dans ce cas, à quelle époque il faut faire remonter l'emploi de la terminaison dans ce rôle. Comme je viens de le dire, la sus-dite terminaison me paraît originairement avoir servi de moyen de différencier des mots d'un même dialecte.

15. Le Dictionnaire (BRUGSCH, VI, page 905) renferme un groupe $\{ \}$, $\chi u f a$, $\{ \}$, $\chi u f a$, comme subst., $\{ \}$ $\{ \}$, $\chi u f u$, $\{ \}$, $\{ \}$ $\{ \}$, $\{ \}$, $\{ \}$ $\{ \}$, $\{ \}$ $\{ \}$, $\{ \}$ $\{ \}$, correspondant au copte $\{ \}$ $\{ \}$ importare, congerere.

Selon moi, le sus-dit groupe† doit se lire χuta , $\chi utau$, $\chi autu$, et je citerai en faveur de cette lecture les exemples que voici:

$$Ab-t'fa$$
 est remplie de ses cadeaux."

^{*} De même, COUNT "chat" et ANT "lion" me semblent être des formes différenciées d'un même mot. Le miaulement du chat étant très bien rendu par le son des deux formes, je regarde le chat comme antérieur au lion dans la connaissance des Égyptiens. Cette remarque n'est point sans intérêt quant à l'histoire de la civilisation égyptienne.

[†] Les exemples que cite M. BRUGSCII pour le prétendu groupe χufa , proviennent, tous, de publications dues à d'autres savants, moins habiles que lui dans l'art de copier des textes hiéroglyphiques.

[‡] DE ROUGÉ, Edfou, LXXIII. § BERGMANN, Hiér. Inschr.

[|] DÜMICHEN, Tempel-Inschr., XXVI.

Très souvent, le signe D revêt ici une forme qui le rapproche de celui qui représente le dard de la queue du scorpion, ?, bien que dans le cas présent, la plupart du temps, la pointe de ce dernier soit tournée du côté gauche, c'est-à-dire contrairement à l'usage généralement adopté, ce qui vous amène à douter que le signe "le dard de la queue du scorpion" soit de mise.

Voici quelques exemples de cet ordre à ajouter à ceux donnés par M. Brugsch:

"Il te présente le nome mendésien avec ses produits précieux, le dit nome remplit l'adytum d'offrandes pour ta personne."*

Il faut faire remarquer qu'une forme ayant &, à la place de ?, n'a pas été relevée pour notre groupe, circonstance qui milite fortement en faveur de l'acception que nous soutenons.

Quant à l'étymologie du mot qui nous occupe, je voudrais le subdiviser en deux parties originairement indépendantes: ou peut-être mieux + + + 111. En d'autres termes, nous aurions affaire à un composé, formé sur le même type que John BRUGSCH, Supplément du Dictionnaire hiéroglyphique). Toutefois. ce n'est là qu'une hypothèse, car l'étymologie populaire a pu fort bien donner à notre groupe l'extérieur qu'il offre actuellement. Cette supposition est appuyée par le fait, que la forme DDD et varr. ne se rencontre qu'à partir de l'époque ptolémaïque. Je ne connais d'ailleurs aucun vocable copte qui puisse être regardé comme équivalent du mot chuta. Il se pourrait cependant que nous ayons

^{*} MARIETTE, Dendérah II, 27, 16. ‡ DÜMICHEN, Kalend. Inschr., LVII.

[†] MARIETTE, ibid., II, 12, 5. § DÜMICHEN, ibid., LH, b. 10.

ici un emprunt, fait à une langue étrangère, par exemple, le grec. C'est qu'à l'époque ptolémaïque la langue égyptienne est inondée par des vocables d'origine grecque.

16. Le radical et ses dérivés ont été l'objet de monographies très instructives et très judicieuses, qu'a insérées M. Brugsch dans son *Dictionnaire Hiéroglyphique* (Vol. IV, page 1413 et suiv., ainsi que Vol. VII, page 1213 et suiv.). Ce nonobstant, nous venons de voir paraître un article * sur "le verbe

* On lit dans cet article (Recueil de VIEWEG, XI, page 118) les paroles suivantes : "C'est du reste un fait bien connu que le de l'époque des pyramides alterne avec le sous la XIIe dynastie, lui cède presque (!) complètement la place à partir de la XVIIIe, et devient a près les Ramessides. D'où une certaine puérilité, ce me semble, à recueillir des exemples pour prouver qu'un signe comme 🗒 a trois valeurs 🕽 , 🥽 et 👶. La chose va de soi; tout signe syllabique qui, à l'origine, comprend un , aboutit nécessairement au a en passant par le ... Pour ma part, je n'éprouve nullement le besoin d'avoir des exemples pour admettre qu'un signe comme d'abord, puis , puis ." Notre auteur a ici procédé par induction, ce qui nous amène nécessairement à examiner sa thèse. Cela se fera plus longuement dans un autre endroit. À présent, il suffit de faire remarquer que le traitement des sons intermédiaires et finales souvent est tout autre que celui des sons initiaux, en égyptien comme en d'autres langues. Il est connu que le 📉 final et médial de l'ancien empire passé régulièrement plus tard à , observation qu'ont déjà fait M. DE ROUGÉ et M. LE PAGE RENOUF et après eux, grâce aux textes des pyramides, beaucoup d'autres savants. Mais nous n'avons pas de témoignages formels de la même régularité de transition quand il s'agit du initial (comme, par exemple, dans le syllabique (\$\mathbb{B}\$). Nous pouvons certainement constater beaucoup de cas, où même ce 🥎 s'est changé en 😂 à l'époque des Ramessides. il y en a d'autres où il s'est conservé, presque jusqu'aux basses époques. Cfr. par Pepi I, 94), (ib., 282), où des mots comme , etc. Tant que des formes \$, 2 , 11, 2) B, 2 , 2 , 8 n'ont pas été relevées pour ces mots quant à l'époque des Ramessides-j'en fais bien entendu abstraction des textes énigmatiques—on a assurément de quoi noter la forme pour le signe R du temps de la XVIIIe dynastie (PIEHL, Zeitschrift, 1887, page 117). L'expression, peu convenante, dont a usé M. VICTOR LORET à notre adresse, retombe donc sur lui-même. Par son "presque" inséré au debut de la citation, il semble d'ailleurs à cet égard être du même avis que nous.

dérivés" qui débute par l'assertion suivante: "S'il est un mot égyptien dont la présence dans un texte ait pour effet d'embarasser le verbe traducteur et déconcerter sa sagacité, c'est bien certainement le "."

L'auteur du dit article en faisant remarquer le peu de valeur des explications, jusqu'ici fournies, pour le groupe en question, nous enseigne "qu'il est utile d'étudier ce mot à nouveau et procéder méthodiquement dans cette étude." Malheureusement, cette nouvelle étude sur le mot in l'est ni utile ni méthodique. Loin d'avancer nos connaissances de la matière, elle ne sert qu'à les embrouiller. Quiconque a lu les articles de Brugsch sur la même question nous donnera sans doute raison. Nous allons maintenant entrer en examen de la dite étude, ce qui permettra au lecteur de juger de la vérité de l'assertion que nous venons d'émettre.

Le signe représente la peau d'un animal écorché, corium [cfr. par exemple "" "enlever la peau," Rec., IV, 44.]. Si nous consultons les scènes d'offrandes, nous le retrouvons assez souvent parmi les cadeaux funéraires. Dans ce rôle, l'objet en question forme quelquefois le sommet de la pile que constituent les différentes denrées, apportées au défunt. Du sens originaire "peau enlevée" découle très-naturellement le sens "outre," qui n'est nullement primitif, comme le pense l'auteur de la nouvelle étude sur "", mais bien au contraire doit se regarder comme une signification dérivée. À ce sujet, on peut citer les grecs ἀσκός, βύρσα, qui signifient 1° "peau;" 2° "outre."

Le copte a gardé des traces, très-visibles de la transition de sens que nous venons de constater, car à côté du substantif bohaïrique 50Τ, uter, il nous offre le verbe 5 ΣΤ, excoriare, ἐκεεἰρειν, "écorcher." Outre la forme régulière 7 Γ, que nous connaissons comme désignation de la peau d'animal, employée en qualité d'outre, notre auteur cite les variantes 7, selon lui, ayant ce même sens d'outre. J'avoue ne connaître ni l'une ni l'autre de ces deux variantes. La première n'a été relevée nulle part à ma connaisance (voir pourtant Levi, Dictionnaire Hérogly-phique sub voce), et la seconde résulte d'une mauvaise lecture d'un passage de texte qui du reste présente quelque difficulté. Nous le

retrouvons dans le *Auswahl* de M. Lepsius, où la ligne 5 légèrement corrigée, de la planche XII renferme l'expression que voici:—

En comparant ce passage à celui-ci, emprunté au Grand Pap. Harris (VIII, 6):—

on est amené à établir une analogie de sens entre du premier et hand du second exemple. Pour ma part, je crois tout simplement que doit être corrigé en ou quelque chose de pareil. En tout cas, le sen s "outre" est ici inadmissible pour le mot en question.

Si mon observation est juste, ce que je crois, il n'y a pour le moment aucune raison d'attribuer au mot \mathcal{R} "peau, outre" un autre son initial que \mathcal{R} .

À ce sujet, il est bon de noter que le copte 920, 90T, 9WT, crassus, pinguis, obesus, "dont l'équivalent hiéroglyphique," suivant M. V. LORET, "n'a pas encore été rencontré," ne renvoie guère à "la même racine qui a donné par par développement;" le dit mot copte ne parle en aucune manière en faveur de l'existence d'un initial, dans le radical primordial , car un ancien répond souvent à un o récent. Du reste, 920, 90T, 9WT existe dans la langue ancienne sous la forme te varr. qui se voit [Lepsius, Denkmäler, III, 30, 11; III, 32, etc.] dans des expressions, comme , "Gella de grasses," des oiseaux chet-āa engraissés." On ne serait peutêtre pas trop hardi, en présumant une parenté étroite entre ce

engraissé" [Brugsch, Wörterbuch, VII, page 1386].

Le sens "se gonfler" qui, suivant M. V. Lorer, est le sens primordial de , ne me semble admissible pour aucun des cas où il veut l'introduire. Quand même il le serait pour ou , il ne s'en suit de là, qu'il le serait pour , car en reconnaissant la possibilité d'une origine commune pour ces trois radicaux, il faut bien que les formes diverses qu'ils ont revêtu aient des raisons d'être, c'est-à-dire qu'elles présentent des différences de sens marquées.

Dans la signification originaire "outre" que M. Loret attribue à l' , il n'y a rien d'ailleurs qui aurait forcé le sens "gonfler" pour le radical , car "der Name eines Dinges enthält nur ein Merkmal statt des ganzen Begriffs."* Et si nous examinons les racines, qui dans les différentes langues ont servi à former des mots signifiant "outre," nous verrons qu'une fois cette racine signifie "mettre, vêtir" (lat. uter, franç. outre), une autre "avaler" (allem. Schlauch), une troisième fois "être placé, couché, reposer" (isl. legill), une quatrième fois "porter" (isl. berill), une cinquième fois "gonfler" (goth. balgs), et ainsi de suite. On doit regretter que des personnes qui s'occupent de questions étymologiques, n'ont pas d'idée des faits les plus élémentaires et fondamentaux de la science étymologique.

Plusieurs des preuves citées en faveur d'un sens "se gonfler" du mot sont du reste mal lues par l'auteur de la nouvelle étude sur ce radical. Ainsi les deux exemples que voici:—

2. (C) (BRUGSCH et DÜMICHEN, Recueil, II, 54) ont-ils été rendus, l'un par "il est comme un lion qui se gonfle, se dresse pour terrifier des gazelles," l'autre par (celui qui) "se gonfle, se hausse avec des beuglements," le signe \(\pi\) ayant été remplacé à tort par celui de \(\pi\). Ce n'est du reste pas le seul cas où notre auteur ait remplacé un \(\pi\) juste par un \(\pi\) faux,

^{*} POTT, cité par Le PAGE RENOUF, Transactions of the Soc. of Bibl. Archeology, VIII, page 197.

car il a agi de la même manière vis-à-vis de deux passages de l'inscription d'Ahmès, dont voici la teneur:—

Le sens de ces deux exemples selon le même auteur serait: "mais voilà qu'il se met à monter sur la berge" (3).—"J'amenai deux jeunes chefs, pris sur le bateau" (4).

En principe, on peut reprocher à la substitution qu'a faite M. V. Loret de à la place de , dans les trois premiers des quatre exemples que nous venons de citer, qu'elle viole une loi de l'écriture hiéroglyphique, loi qu'a établie notre maître à tous Brugsch. J'entends la loi des "indicateurs phonétiques." Originairement, appliquée à l'effet de faire valoir la distinction entre deux lectures d'un même signe, cette loi vise encore deux ou plusieurs signes différents qui se ressemblent extérieurement, comme, par exemple, c'est le cas de et . Le premier est régulièrement suivi de , pour qu'il ne soit mêlé au second qui à certaines époques, exclut l'usage d'exprimer dans l'écriture le qui lui appartient comme complément phonétique. Je traduirai les trois premiers des exemples cités de la manière suivante:—

- 1. "Il est comme un lion qui s'efforce* de terrifier les gazelles."
- 2. "(Celui qui) se met à beugler" (ou peut-être: "celui qui saisit les craintifs!").
- 3. "Voilà qu'on le mène, pincé, sur le chemin" (c'est-à-dire : la digue).

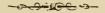
Le quatrième des exemples cités se traduit, comme l'a fait M. Loret, \dagger

* Dans ma dissertation académique, intitulée *Petites Études Égyptologiques* (Vienne, 1881, page 22), j'ai, le premier, fait remarquer que les verbes "saisir, prendre" (, ctc.), dans les textes égyptiens, quelquefois jouent le rôle d'auxiliaires.

† Un cinquième exemple, où le dit auteur à tort a substitué \Longrightarrow à \leadsto , se rencontre à la page 124 (passage de texte, emprunté au *Recueil* de Brugscii, II, 54).

Je ne vois pas du reste qu'aucune autre preuve solide ait été alléguée en faveur d'un sens "se gonfler" pour le groupe , dont le déterminatif ne correspond nullement à une telle signification primitive. Nous pouvons donc parfaitement considérer le dit sens comme inacceptable.

[The remainder will follow in the next number.]



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 3rd June, 1890, at 8 p.m., when the following Paper will be read:—

Prof. G. Maspero:—"Sur les Dynasties Divines de l'ancienne Égypte."

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

BOTTA, Monuments de Ninive. 5 vols., folio. 1847–1850.
PLACE, Ninive et l'Assyrie, 1866-1869. 3 vols., folio.
Brugsch-Bey, Geographische Inschriften Altaegyptische Denkmaeler Vols. I—III (Brugsch).
Recueil de Monuments Égyptiens, copiés sur lieux et publiés par H. Brugsch et J. Dümichen. (4 vols., and the text by Dümichen of vols. 3 and 4.)
DÜMICHEN, Historische Inschriften, &c., 1st series, 1867.
2nd series, 1869.
———— Altaegyptische Kalender-Inschriften, 1886.
Tempel-Inschriften, 1862. 2 vols., folio.
GOLENISCHEFF, Die Metternichstele. Folio, 1887.
LEPSIUS, Nubian Grammar, &c., 1880.
Études Égyptologiques. 13 vols., complete to 1880.
WRIGHT, Arabic Grammar and Chrestomathy. 2nd edition.
SCHROEDER, Die Phönizische Sprache.
Haupt, Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze.
RAWLINSON, CANON, 6th Ancient Monarchy.
Burkhardt, Eastern Travels.
CHABAS, Mélanges Égyptologiques. Séries I, III. 1862-1873.
Le Calendrier des Jours Fastes et Néfastes de l'année Égyptienne. 8vo. 1877.
E. GAYET, Stèles de la XII dynastie au Museé de Louvre.
LEDRAIN, Les Monuments Égyptiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale.
Sarzec, Découvertes en Chaldée.
Lefèbure, Les Hypogées Royaux de Thebes.
SAINTE MARIE, Mission à Carthage.
LEFÈBURE, Le Mythe Osirien. 2nd partie. "Osiris."
LEPSIUS, Les Métaux dans les Inscriptions Égyptiennes, avec notes par W. Berend,
D. G. Lyon, An Assyrian Manual.
A. AMIAUD AND L. MECHINEAU, Tableau Comparé des Écritures Babyloniennes et Assyriennes.
2 PARTS, Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer.
ROBIOU, Croyances de l'Égypte à l'époque des Pyramides.
Recherches sur le Calendrier en Égypte et sur le chronologie des Lagides.
Pognon, Les Inscriptions Babyloniennes du Wadi Brissa.

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Society of Biblical Archæology.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF

THE SOCIETY

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XII. TWENTIETH SESSION.

Seventh Meeting, June 3rd, 1890.

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PROCEEDINGS

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TWENTIETH SESSION, 1889-90.

Seventh Meeting, 3rd June, 1890.

P. LE PAGE RENOUF, Esq., President, in the chair.

The following Presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Donors:—

From the Trustees of the British Museum:—The Book of the Dead; Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani in the British Museum. folio, 1890. With an Introduction by P. Le Page Renouf (*President*).

From the India Office:—The Sacred Books of the East. Vol. XXXIII. Oxford. 8vo. 1889.

The Minor Law Books, translated by Julius Jolly. Part I. Nârada Brishaspati.

From the Author, M. Joachim Menant:—Études Hétéennes I. Paris. 8vo. 1890.

Extrait du Rec. de trav. rel. à la Philologie et l'Archéologie Égypt. et Assyr., Vol. XIII.

From the Author, M. E. Autran:—Sur certains rapports entre l'Arabie heureuse et l'ancienne Égypte, résultant de son dernier voyage au Yémen, par le Dr. G. Schweinfurth. Geneva. 8vo. 1890.

Trav. présenté à la Soc. de Phys. et d'Hist. Nat. de Genève 6th Feb., 1890.

[No. xcIII.]

[1890.

The following have been purchased by the Council for the Library of the Society:—

Ein Neuer Kambyses-Text. Von Dr. Lauth. München. 1875. 4to.

Notice sur les inscriptions en caractères cunéiformes de la collection épigraphique de M. Lottin de Laval, par M. J. Menant. Caen. 8vo. 1858.

The following Candidates were submitted for election, having been nominated at the last Meeting on 6th May, 1890, and elected Members of the Society:—

M. S. Schekiné, Menschikova Bachnia, Great Ouspensky Street 3, Moscow.

Rev. Tupper Carey, R.D., F.G.S., Ebbesborne Wake, Salisbury. Bartlett D. Wrangham, 7, Claremont Place, Sheffield.

Dr. Bruto Teloni, Via della Fortezza 4, Florence.

Rev. Henry Walter Reynolds, St. Thomas Vicarage, Elm Road, Camden New Town, N.W.

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The following Candidates were nominated and by special order of the Council were submitted for election and elected Members of the Society:—

Nathan Ball, Heanor, Derbyshire.

Daniel Isaac Marshall, 7, Rose Street, Newgate Street, E.C.

Adolf Augustus Berle, Harvard University.

J. Vallentine, St. Stephen's Club, S.W.

A Paper by Prof. Maspero, received 24th March, "Sur les Dynasties Divines de l'ancienne Égypte," was read by the Secretary.

P. le P. Renouf (*President*) read a Paper, entitled, "The Tale of Joseph and Aseneth," which will be printed in a future number of the Proceedings.

Remarks were added by Dr. Gaster, Rev. R. Gwynne, and Rev. A. Löwy.

Thanks were returned for these communications.



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2.



Fig. 3.



Fig. 4.

PLATE I.



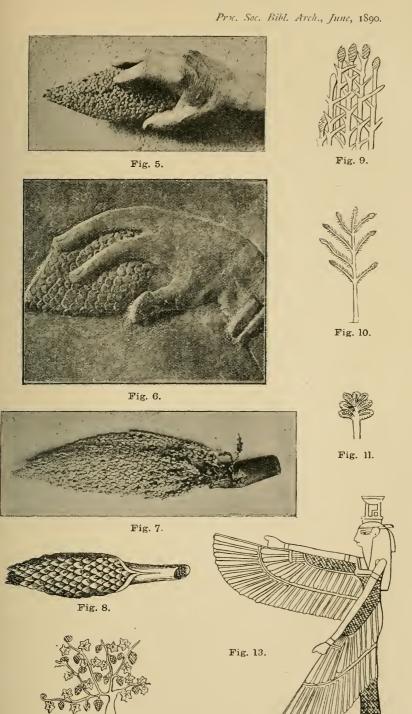


PLATE II.

Fig. 12.





Fig. 14.

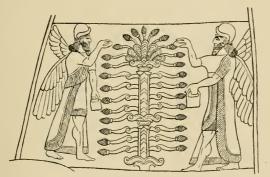


Fig. 15.

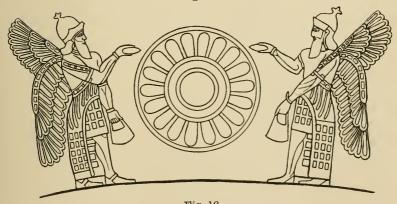


Fig. 16.

PLATE III.



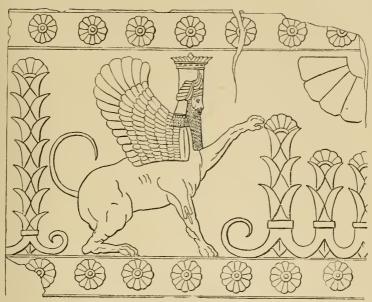


Fig. 17.

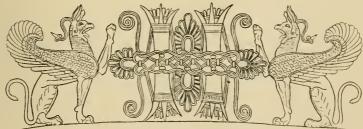


Fig. 18.

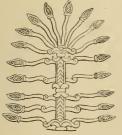


Fig. 19.



Fig. 20.

PLATE IV.



THE WINGED FIGURES OF THE ASSYRIAN AND OTHER ANCIENT MONUMENTS.

BY EDWARD B. TYLOR, D.C.L., F.R.S.

Read 4th March, 1890.

The following observations have arisen out of the preparation of one of my Gifford Lectures delivered before the University of Aberdeen during the past winter. In examining the nature of Spiritual Beings as defined and represented in the religions of the world, I was led to examine with more care than heretofore the class of Winged Spirits, and especially those quasi-human forms on the Assyrian monuments whose importance in the history of religious art has been lately coming into view.*

That the winged figures of Assyria were derived from or suggested by those of Egypt, may be taken as the accepted and probable opinion. Egyptian figures of the kind may be grouped in three classes, viz., the winged suns, the winged monsters of the Theban tombs, and the winged deities with human bodies. The Assyrian monuments present well-known forms more or less corresponding to these three classes. Firstly, the sun is represented as a winged plain disk or ring, also with an archer sun-god standing within this circle. Secondly, the animal-monsters have their grandest representatives in the colossal winged bulls and lions, and with these are to be included the winged horse, griffin, &c. Thirdly, we have the human-bodied figures, of which, though they are familiar objects, typical sketches are here inserted (Plate I), from the valuable work of Perrot and Chipiez, "History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria," and Layard's "Monuments" in order to keep their characteristics clearly before our minds. Some are man-headed, others (to use the ordinary term), eagle-headed. Some are represented with four wings, some with two, which in a measure agrees with the mention by Berossos the Chaldean, of the primæval two-headed men, some with two

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^{*} See preliminary letter in *Academy*, June 8, 1889. In following out the subject, I have had the advantage of referring to scholars specially conversant with monumental evidence and chronology, among them Professor Sayce, Professor Percy Gardner, and Mr. E. Wallis Budge. On botanical points I have been able to consult Mr. W. T. Thiselton Dyer and Professor Vines.

wings, and others with four, of whom delineations were preserved in the temple of Bel at Babylon. Looking at the Assyrian figures themselves, it seems a possible conjecture that they may always have been imagined as having four wings even when two only are shown, for these are ill-matched as a pair, while divine figures otherwise similar are represented either with two or four wings. It is not reasonable however to criticize too closely the anatomical adaptation of the Assyrian wings, which may be taken as symbols in a religious picture-writing, indicating that the divine beings who wear them can freely traverse space. As has been well pointed out by Langbehn, they never fly.* It is interesting to notice with reference to the conventional adaptation of these symbolic wings, that the Assyrian human-bodied winged figures follow the analogy not of the Egyptian human-bodied winged figures, but of the winged monsteranimals. In Plate II, fig. 13, the Egyptian goddess Nephthys is seen to be constructed on a comparatively natural plan, the birdfeathered wings being attached below the arms and moved by them, in remarkable contrast to the Assyrian figures, in which all scruples as to anatomical possibility are set at nought.

The Assyrian quasi-human winged figures, whether man-headed or bird-headed, two-winged or four-winged, in standing or walking attitude on the walls of royal or sacred buildings, are in frequent apposition with the so-called "sacred tree" or "tree of life," of which a typical form is shown in Plate I, fig. 1 (see also figs 14, 15, 19 and 20). That these tree-figures represent date-palms is now recognized. An early remark to this effect is by Prof. G. Rawlinson: "I suspect that the so-called 'flower' was in reality a representation of the head of a palm-tree, with the form of which, as portrayed on the earliest sculptures (Layard, 'Mon.,' pl. 53), it nearly agrees."† I insert here (Plate II, fig. 11) a copy of the representation of the head of a date-palm in Assyrian landscape, scarcely less conventionalized than in the "sacred tree," which may probably stand for a group or grove of palms. To this group of palms the winged figures are seen presenting an object resembling a fir-cone which they hold in the right hand, while in the left hand they carry a basket or bucket. The likeness of the object to a fir-cone has led

^{*} Jul. Langbehn, "Flügelgestalten der ältesten Griechischen Kunst." Munich, 1881, pp. 31, 39.

[†] G. Rawlinson "The Five Great Monarchies," Vol. II, p. 7, note. 2nd edition, 1871.

to its being generally considered and called the fir-cone. The Assyrian drawing of plants is, however, rough and conventional, and forms more or less like this do duty for several botanical purposes, as appears in Plate II, where fig 10 shows the branches of a tree, perhaps coniferous; fig. 12, a portion of a vine with leaves and bunches of grapes; fig. 9, the heads of a marsh-plant-all from Layard's "Monuments." The pictorial resemblance of the object in the hands of the winged deities to a fir-cone is thus insufficient proof of its being intended as really such. Also, if the tree which the winged deity approaches is admitted to be a palm, there is no obvious motive in a fir-cone being presented to it, so that writers who adopt this view of the scene have been obliged to treat the whole proceeding as a mystical ceremony. In such cases, however, it is always desirable to look for evidence of that intelligible meaning which underlies religion as it does other institutions. It occurred to me that it might be connected with the artificial fertilization of the date-palm, which has been remarked on by naturalists since antiquity. The principal ancient accounts of this process are the following:-

Herodotus, describing the Babylonian region, writes: "Palmtrees grow in great numbers over the whole of the flat country, mostly of the kind which bears fruit, and this fruit supplies them with bread, wine, and honey. They are cultivated like the fig-tree in all respects; among others, in this. The natives tie the fruit of the male-palms, as they are called by the Greeks, to the branches of the date-bearing palm, to let the gall-fly enter the dates and ripen them, and to prevent the fruit from falling off. The male-palms, like the wild fig-trees, have usually the gall fly in their midst." "Εἰσὸ εϵ΄ οφι φοίνικες πεφυκότες ανά παν το πεδίον, οι πλεύνες αυτών καρποφόροι, ικ των και σιτία και οίνον και μέλι ποιεύνται τους συκεέων τρόπον θεραπεύουσι τά τε άλλα, και φοινίκων, τους έρσενας Ελληνές καλέουσι, τούτων τον καρπον περιδέουσι τήσι βαλανηφοροισι τών φοινίκων, ίνα πεπαίνη τέ σφι ό ψην την βάλανον εσείνων και μη απορρέη ο καρπός [ό] του φοίνικος. Ψήνας γάρ δή φορέουσι εν τῷ καρπῷ οἱ ἔρσενες, κατά περ εἡ οἱ ὅλυνθοι."* It is not necessary to criticize here the historian's erroneous comparison of the fertilization of the date-palm with that of the fig. What is required from him is merely his record of the Babylonian method. The next account is that by Theophrastus, who mentions

^{*} Herodot., I, c. 193. The translation is from Rawlinson's "Herodotus"; see also the notes in Larcher.

the difference between the male and female flowers in a passage of great interest to botanists as distinguishing plant-sex. Further on, after describing the caprification (ερινασμός) of the fig, he continues: "In the palms these" [aids are given] "by the males to the females. For they cause the staying-on and ripening. Which some call from the similarity δλυνθάζειν. It takes place in this way. When the male blossoms they cut away the spathe on which is the inflorescence forthwith as it is, and shake down the bloom and flower and pollen upon the fruit of the female. And when thus treated, it keeps on and does not fall away." "Τοῦς δε φοίνιξιν αι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρρένων πρὸς τας θήλειας ούτοι γάρ είσιν οι επιμένειν ποιούντες και εκπέττειν. δ καλούσι τινες έκ της ομοιότητος όλυνθάζειν. Γίνεται δε τόνδε τον τρόπον. "Όταν ἀνθη τὸ ἄρρεν, ἀποτέμνουσι την σπάθην, ἐφ' ης τὸ ἄνθος, εὐθὺς ώσπερ έχει, τόν τε χνοῦν καὶ τὸ ἄνθος καὶ τὸν κονιορτὸν κατασείουσι κατὰ τοῦ καρποῦ τῆς θηλείας κἂν τοῦτο πάθη, διατηρεῖ, καὶ οὐκ ἀποβάλλει.* Pliny follows in his "Natural History," remarking on the sexes of the date-palm, and adds that the fecundation is even contrived by man, from the males by the flower and down, sometimes even only by the dust being sprinkled on the females. "Adeoque est Veneris intellectus, ut coitus etiam excogitatus sit ab homine, ex maribus flore ac lanugine, interim vero tantum pulvere insperso feminis." †

From these ancient accounts we may pass to that of a well-known traveller of the last century, Thomas Shaw, who in describing the date-palm cultivation, states: "It is well known that these trees are male and female, and that the fruit will be dry and insipid without a previous communication with the male. In the month of March or April therefore, when the sheaths that respectively inclose the young clusters of the male flowers and the female fruit begin to open, at which time the latter are formed and the first are mealy, they take a sprig or two of the male cluster, and insert it into the sheath of the female; or else they take a whole cluster of the male tree and sprinkle the meal or farina of it over several clusters of the female. The latter practice is common in Egypt, where they have a number of males; but the trees of Barbary are impregnated by the former method, one male being sufficient to impregnate four or five hundred females."

^{*} Theophrast. "Hist. Plant.," II, c. 2, 6, c. 7, 4.

[†] Plin., "Nat. Hist.," xiii, c. 7.

[‡] Thomas Shaw, "Travels or Observations relating to Barbary." Oxford, 1738, Part III, chap. i.

The invention of artificial fertilization, however far it may go back in antiquity, presents no difficulty in explanation, being only a facilitation of the natural process. It has been stated in the 17th century that the groves of wild palms in the deserts of Africa without any cultivation produced good and plentiful crops of dates, the wind conveying the pollen from the male to the female palms.* Whether anything of the kind has been observed of late years I have no information, but it is obvious that the produce of such natural fertilization, depending on the number and position of the male palms, must at best be scanty and irregular. It is not to be wondered at that artificial methods have come to prevail generally where the culture of the date is carried on. These methods are seen from the foregoing passages to be three in number. That described by Herodotus consisted in tying male inflorescences to the fruit-bearing branches. In modern times the more economical arrangement of inserting one or two sprigs, mentioned by Shaw, is in general use in date-growing districts. There is an elaborate illustrated description of it by the eminent botanist Kaempfer.† Lastly, it appears that the plan of shaking the pollen from the male over the female flowers not only obtained in ancient, but has been continued in modern times. It is this method which especially concerns the present argument.

I now proceed to examine the form of the male inflorescence which is conveyed to the fruit-bearing date-palm, in order to show its close resemblance to the sculptured cone carried in the hand of the Assyrian winged deity, of which a figure is here inserted (Plate II, fig. 6) from one of the colossal bas-reliefs in the British Museum. In Kaempfer's treatise on the Palm already mentioned, a drawing is given of the male palm-inflorescence, stripped of its spathe and with the flowers open and ripe for scattering the pollen, that is to say, in the precise condition required for comparison; this drawing is here copied (Plate II, fig. 8). Actual specimens are, however, more satisfactory to deal with. By the kindness of my friend Mr. Thomas Hanbury, who has sent me from his famous garden at La Mortola, on the Riviera, several date-palm inflorescences, I am able to exhibit these to the Society, and photographs from them are copied as illustrations

^{*} Prosperus Alpinus, "De Plantis Ægypti," Padua, 1640, p. 25. Juliu Pontedera, "Anthologia," Padua, 1720, cites this passage.

[†] Kaempfer, Amenitat. Exotic., Fasc. V. Lemgo, 1712, Fasc. IV.

(Plate II, figs. 5, 7). In comparing the whole series, it will be noticed that Kaempfer's drawing, which represents the flowers open, resembles the sculptures in this respect more closely than my own figures, taken at the stage when the flowers are only beginning to unclose, and this similarity is increased by the conventional drawing of the botanist, which approaches that of the ancient sculptor. On the other hand, the real specimens come closer to the sculptures in showing the cone in its early pointed state, whereas the botanical drawing represents a somewhat later stage, when the point is beginning to break up.

The similarity of the sculptured cone to the real palm-inflorescence, taken together with the fact of its being shown as carried to the date-palm, might be considered to prove that the scene at the sacred tree represents the artificial fertilization. The further examination of the monumental evidence, far from invalidating the argument, confirms it by consistent details. The basket or bucket held in the left hand corresponds with the basket carried at present in the East by the cultivator to hold his supply of pollen-bearing inflorescences when he climbs the fruit-bearing palms to fertilize them; this is the more necessary from the dropping of the flowers and the shedding of the pollen, much of which would be lost if the cones were carried loose. Thus sometimes the bucket carried in the hand of the winged figure serves to identify the scene even when the cone is not shown in the other hand. This is the case in Plate IV, fig. 20, an impression of a cylinder (from Lajard) which has the interesting peculiarity that the palm-tree is drawn realistically below the winged sun, showing clearly that the conventional trees usually forming part of the scene were well understood to be palms.

The conventional outlines and combinations of the various parts of the palm-tree, though difficult to follow, especially when they have passed into ornament, often seem to show that the artist has the sense of their meaning. Thus on Plate IV, fig. 19, the inflorescences on their long bending stalks may be intended as partly seen through the opening of the split spathe, and they are often more conventionally rendered in ornamental borders. Or they may be shown without the spathe, as on the royal robe from Nimrud, of which a portion is here figured (Plate III, fig. 15). My attention has lately been called to Sir George Birdwood, in his dissertation on "The Knop and Flower Pattern," having identified the long-stalked cones which flourish out from the fan-like head of the

date-palm as being its fruit-clusters, recurring also in more conventional forms in ornamental designs.* I am glad to be able to cite this dissertation, one of the most important contributions to the theory of art-development, to show that its writer, approaching the subject from quite a different point of view, so long ago arrived at this opinion as to the representation of the female inflorescences or young date-clusters in Assyrian art.

Having now considered these points of evidence separately, it remains to apply them to those pictorial groups fortunately preserved in the figured decoration of royal robes, where the whole argument is, so to speak, summed up (Plate III, fig. 15). There the winged deities with cone and bucket not only approach the sacred palm-tree, but are bringing into contact the male and female inflorescences, and the scene of fertilization is complete.

On the question with what motive this scene was so continually represented, some remarks may now be made. The winged sun, adopted from Egypt into Assyria, continues to hold on the Assyrian monuments the same dominance over scenes of religious significance which belongs to it in Egyptian sculptures and paintings. That it was not transferred as a mere ornament, but with meaning and purpose, may be clearly seen in a sculptured group of which the copy published by Layard is here reproduced (Plate III, fig. 14). Here the winged sun is held by ropes in the hands of two kneeling figures. These are obviously the two deities who are seen from a different point of view on the inscribed stone belonging to the shrine of Samas, the Sun-god of Sippara, now in the British Museum. It has been described by Mr. Theo, G. Pinches,† whose argument is hardly open to doubt, that the beings holding the sun with their ropes (which I may incidentally remark end in conventional palm-heads) are the guides or directors of the sun, who keep him in his straight path. In the group we are now examining they hold the sun over the palm-tree, doubtless to ripen it, while behind them stand the two winged figures with cone and bucket ready to fertilize it. The whole scene, which with more or less variation is repeated on cylinders in the British Museum and elsewhere, had obviously a well-understood significance in Assyrian nature-worship, of which at least the practical theme seems apparent, doubtful as its full religious

^{*} Sir George Birdwood, "Industrial Arts of India," p. 325.

[†] Trans. Soc. of Bibl. Arch., Vol. VIII, p. 164.

significance may be. The importance of the palm-tree in the Mesopotamian region is measured by the fact that even in modern ages a failure of the date-crop amounts to a famine. Kaempfer mentions the Turks being turned back from an expedition against Bassora by the threat of cutting down the male palms in the invaded district, so as to leave the soldiers without supplies; but this step, calamitous to the population, being delayed in execution, the invasion was accomplished.* Thus it is no wonder that the Assyrian winged beings who carry in their hands the fertilizing cones, should occupy so conspicuous a place before the eyes of the nation on the palace-walls of Nineveh. Their high divine rank is shown by their prominence and their association with the sun. But any confident suggestion as to their names, or even the decision whether they represent the fertilizing winds, or national deities whose fertilizing influence comprised or was typified by the process of fecundating the date-palm, must be left to be settled by other evidence than that which I can deal with here.

It has to be remembered, however, that there appears on the Assyrian monuments another quasi-human figure carrying the palmcone (Plate I, fig. 3). This is the deity clothed in the skin of the fish, or with a fish-tail, whom Prof. Sayce identifies with Ea or Oannes.† At first sight the marine nature of this being seems incongruous with the cultivation of the date-palm, but the record of the Chaldean historian Berossos offers a solution of the difficulty. The description of Oannes, who appeared on the Erythræan seacoast of Babylonia, and of whom a representation was preserved in the historian's time, amounts to identification with the figure on the monuments. His body was that of a fish, with another head under the fish's head, and human feet joined to the fish's tail. Now to this Oannes were attributed the origins of Babylonian civilization, and among other arts he made them distinguish the seeds, and showed them how to collect the fruits. In his hands, therefore, the cone and bucket may be the symbols of a god of agriculture.

Passing from the significance of the winged beings in the religion and art of Assyria itself, we come to their world-wide influence among other nations who adopted them, probably with little exact preservation of their original meaning. Thus since the

^{*} Kaempfer, p. 706.

[†] Sayce, "Religion of Ancient Babylonians," p. 131.

Assyrian sculptures became familiar to European eyes, their suggestive effect on the ancient Hebrew mind has been often thought of. One striking point of comparison with the mystic visions of Ezekiel was noticed many years ago by Layard. It is that the four forms of the living creatures of Ezekiel, man, lion, bull, eagle, are precisely those of the Assyrian monuments. The winged bull and lion are made up of these and no other, and if we add to them the winged walking figures, they fall into the same scheme. As Layard argues, "These coincidences are too marked not to deserve notice; and do certainly lead to the inference, that the symbols chosen by the prophet were derived from the Assyrian sculptures."* Through long ages of religious art, this quaternion of mystic creatures is to be traced henceforth. Within Christendom the four beasts of the Apocalypse reproduce those of Ezekiel; and at last the series passes into the attributes of the four Evangelists.

I have now to point out that the argument for the derivation of the Cherubim of Ezekiel from the Assyrian monuments may be carried further. In the prophet's description of the living creatures who he knew were cherubim, he says that "they had every one four wings, and the likeness of the hands of a man was under their wings." Now these are two special characteristics belonging to such an Assyrian deity as is here shown (Plate I, fig. 2) majestically striding with the fertilizing cone in his hand. They form a combination which can hardly have repeated itself by accident. Modern observers are not indeed struck at first sight by the express mention of the hands under the wings, which to them seem almost a matter of course. But this is because the genii and angels to whose forms we are accustomed are themselves derived from the winged figures belonging to Assyria. It is improbable that at the time of Ezekiel there were any other types in the world answering the description of the four wings and the hands below them, except such Babylonian-Assyrian winged deities, and the adaptations of them by neighbouring nations. Through the Phœnicians the Assyrian figures had long before become familiar to the Hebrew mind, as appears when the Tyrian workmen are related to have adorned the temple of Solomon "with carved figures of cherubim and palm-trees and open flowers." This shows that among the Phœnician art-figures of Assyrian origin, familiar to us by many specimens, the cherub was a definite figure known by

^{*} Layard, "Nineveh," Vol. II, p. 465.

name, and not only was the conventional sacred tree of Assyria depicted beside it, but this was understood to be the date-palm. The types from which the visionary living creatures modelled themselves in the prophet's mind in his vision on the banks of the river Chebar, stand thus almost completely open to the modern student.*

As an example of the transplanting of Assyrian types, Plate IV, fig. 17, represents a group from Persepolis illustrating those combinations of winged animals with trees and other sacred objects which are commonly engraved on cylinders, etc. It is hard to guess whether they continue to embody some religious conception, or have passed into the merely decorative stage, but there is still evident in them a consciousness of meaning which makes their details instructive. the present figure, the drawing of the palm-tree is important, for above its almost naturalistic shaft the head of the palm stands up as a half-rosette. The comparison of these with the complete rosettes in the figure, makes it probable that the latter were intended as representing the head of the palm seen from above or below. rosettes are known in Assyrian ornament accompanying cones, leaves, and fan-heads of the palm (see Layard, "Monuments," 1st series, pl. 34-38), and it seems a reasonable explanation that the wheel-like objects to which winged deities are presenting the cone in the enamelled archivolt at Khorsabad may be the palm-trees. In Plate III, fig. 16, I give a sketch of a group from this remarkable series, which strikingly recalls the alternate cherubim and wheels of Ezekiel's vision. In Plate IV, fig. 18, is part of the decoration of the François Vase at Florence, which shows groups of the nature of that of Persepolis travelling into Greek art, the tree before which the griffins stand being the well-marked conventional palm-group of the Assyrian monuments. In more degenerate forms the artstudent may trace the influence of such groups in the ornamentation of the Renaissance, as in the Loggie of the Vatican.

It is needless for me to bring forward evidence here on a topic now becoming acknowledged in classical archæology, that the Assyrian winged deities whose nature and functions have been here remarked upon are the predecessors of the winged genii whose graceful forms pervade Greek, Etruscan, and Roman art. In later times, when Christianity became an imperial religion, the Victories and Cupids and guardian genii of pagan Rome with slight change

^{*} Ezek. x, xl; I Kings, vi, vii; 2 Chron. iii.

gave rise to the Christian angels, and as such have ever since retained their artistic place; so obvious is this, that mere comparison is the only proof it needs. It is a remarkable instance of the permanence of art-forms once established in the world, that the Assyrian palm-tree, though separated from the winged deities whose office was to make it fruitful, has none the less made its way also over the world. From the time of the early Assyrian discoveries, it became evident that its conventional form had given rise to the Greek ornament often called the "honeysuckle," but the real nature of which is now acknowledged in the term "palmette." Reduced to mere decoration, this pattern pervades modern buildings and furniture. repeated with wearisome iteration by craftsmen from whose minds the sense of original meaning in ornament has long since died out. It is curious to see sometimes on a church wall the honeysuckle pattern bordering a space round sculptured angels, and to remember how far off and how long ago it was that the ancestor of the angel tended the ancestor of the plant.



THE NEW ACCADIAN.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A., Oxon.,

CHAPLAIN OF LINCOLN'S INN; FORMERLY CENSOR AND LECTURER IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

(Continued from page 287, and including the substance of a paper read April 6, 1890.)

THE IDEOGRAM .

This character, called by the Babylonian scribes Bâru, and Mâšu, from its two principal values, might be read bar, par, bir, pir, even ba (2 R 56, 36 c.), and maš, mas, perhaps muš; but its usual sounds were bar and mas. A relation between mas and mar, like that between kuš and kur, giš and gir, is probable on the face of it. Moreover, BAR (baš) and MAŠ (mar) are to be regarded as roots really cognate with each other, and not as two wholly distinct roots which have been arbitrarily represented by a single character. This follows from the well-known dialectic interchange of b and m, in both Accadian and Chinese; a fact which, as we shall see, is fully illustrated in the case before us. Similar meanings are found under the two sounds. If BAR (or BIR) is a brother, MAS is a twin; if MAS is to neglect, to forget, BAR is to let go, cast off, abandon; if MAS was produce, harvest, so also probably was BAR (cp. BAR, to sprout, and the Hebrew 32, wheat). The same thing is seen in the Mandarin mo, Amoy, bék, wheat; Mandarin, mau, Amoy, bò (=ba), barley.

The Assyrian scribes have connected a great variety of meanings with this character. I have been able to verify most of them from the Chinese. In many instances the Mandarin sound corresponding to the Accadian BAR is pao or p'ao. Now the twentieth radical, of a few characters mostly relating to wrapping and inclosing, is pao, "to wrap up," "to envelop," "to contain," "a bundle." The sign $\mathcal T$ is not altogether remote from $\mathcal L$, a form o $\mathcal L$ which has been thought to be the original character for the sound BAR, while $\mathcal L$ was originally MAS. The Chinese sign in combination with t'au, "head," means a head-band or fillet; $\mathcal L$. BAR, to enclose, surround, bind (kamû), and

BAR, the enclosing walls of a town (kamâtu). To wrap, inclose, infold, and bind, are kindred ideas; and if the Accadian sign be set up, in its original position, thus, -7, its likeness to the Chinese 17 becomes obvious enough. Other instances, in which the Accadian bar answers to the Chinese pao, are the following:—

ACCADIAN.

BAR, "brother, side" (ahu).

BAR, "hyena" (ahû).

BAR-KAK, "a spotted deer" (the p'ao, Shanghai bo (=ba-r), "the male, as indicated by NITA added to the expression; Assyrian daššu); BAR-KAK, "a gazelle" (sabîtu, fem.).

BAR (NAM-G'U), a "bird of the pao, "the spotted bustard." field" (dûdu, ibbiltu).

honour"); BAR-DIB, "clothes."

BAR, "to weave"; Uš-BAR, "the p'ao so, "to throw the shuttle" loom" (Oppert).

BAR, "side, bank, fence, wall" pao (and p'u', "a low wall for (ahâtu, itiâtu, kamâtu), "castle, town " (maḥâzu); - ► YBARRA, "village" (kapru つうき); BAR

CHINESE.

pao, "placenta, brotherly, uterine"; t'ung-pao, "brothers" (lit., same womb); pao, "to unite."

pao, spotted felinæ, as the leopard, panther, jaguar, etc.; "spotted, marbled" (dialectic p'ao, pa, bo).

spotted deer."*KAK is "horn," the Mandarin kioh; Cantonese kok; Amoy kak, "horn."

BAR, "robes" (subat êlûti, "dress of pao, "long (embroidered) robes," such as the sovereign gives; pao, "a swaddling-cloth"; p'ao, "a robe."

(vide BAL)

defence"; "a small earthwork or fortified town"; "a citadel"; "a hamlet"; "walls" (of a city):

* Also called piao, dialectic piu, pio (= BIR?). Under piu (old sound bio) we find piao, the markings of a tiger, a kind of tiger-cat, streaks, veins. Pao is also a white spotted horse; cp. p'o, white, dialectic p'o, p'd, bu, = PA-R, BU-R. There are other related words, e.g., p'i, dialectic p'i, pi, bi, a leopard (= PI-R. BI-R); p'i, a bear spotted black and white. The Accadian BAR (BIR, BUR, clearly meant discolor, ποικίλος. Cp. BAR, "the iris of the eye (burmu).

ACCADIAN.

in BAR-NUN) "defence," "bulwark" (hilsu); BAR-BARRI, "a citadel" (birtu).

BAR, "family," "clan," "tribe" (kimtu).

- BAR, "to fly," "flee," "run away" (parâšu naprušu).
- BAR (in GIŠ-BAR) "fire" (išâtu); BAR, "to sparkle or flash," of fire (kabâbu ša išâtı), "to shine," "glitter" (namâru); BAR, "the sun" (šamšu).
- BAR, "to leave," "let go," "abandon" (in šu-BAR, mašâru; šu = shau, "hand.")
- BAR, "belly," "body" (zumru, pagru, 2 R. 30, 46e); BAR, "flesh" (šîru)
- collect," e.g., food; "to close," e.g., the mouth (uššuru; sa-
- BAR, "to sink or fall down" (ša- p'ao, "to fling or throw down." hâtu); causative "to throw down."
- EAR, "to hurt," "damage" (nazâ-pao, "violent," "oppressive," "to ku); BAR, "vexation," "oppression" (kisittu).

CHINESE.

pao, "to protect," "defend," "guard," "a protector" (cp. BAR and KUR and šis, "brother.")

pao, "a group of ten families," "a tithing"; pao, "a hamlet"; "a division of a township, ruled by elected head-men"; pao, "luxuriant" (of plants); "sprouts" (of a tree); cp. the Heb. אַבְיב Asyrian nannabu = the Latin soboles.

p'ao, "to run," "hasten," "run away."

pao, "scorching heat"; pao, "to burn," "hot."

p'ao, "to roast"; pao, "to sun" "to air."

pao, "to throw down," "to cast off"; p'ao (in p'ao p'ieh), " to leave," e.g., one's home.

pao, "the crop of birds; to swell up" (the same as pao, placenta); p'ao, "a bladder." (Both written with the determinative flesh).

BAR, "to bring together," "to pao, "to grasp," "to compress"; pao, "to store up"; pao, "to wrap up."

strike," "to waste"; p'ao, "to cut."

ACCADIAN.

(salâpu; Syriac pa. "to strike through," wound"); BAR-NUN, "enmity," "wickedness" (siliptu); BAR-KA, "whip" (naglabu).

BAR, "top," "surface of a thing" (êlîtu, fem. of êlû, "high," "on the top.")

size (BANDA); perhaps used as measures of capacity (adaguru, kupputtu, sûtu).

BAR-BAR, "to think" (hasasu).

CHINESE.

BAR, "to offend," "sin against" p'ao, "to strike," "beat"; pao, "passionate"; nu, "violent"; nu, "anger," "fury" * ko old ka, "culm of bamboo."

BAR, "lady" (bêltu); cp. "the pao, "precious"; "honourable," " noble."

> pao, "to praise, extol"; pao, "noble."

BAR, three vessels (DUG) of small p'ao, "a calabash"; p'ao, "a gourd" (used as drinkingvessels); pao, "to contain," "to hold"; pao, "an earthern

> pao, "to feel," "to have in the heart."

Thus far, I have purposely confined my comparisons to two sounds only. But a modification of the vowels, which is so common in Accadian that it may be called normal (BAR = BIR, BUR), would enable us to adduce many other Chinese parallels. Thus the last instances above may be compared with piao, old sound bio, i.e., bir, Cantonese piu, Shanghai pio, "the highest peak of a ridge," and piao, "the topmost branch of a tree"; also, "to rise," and "best," "fine." The Chinese pao, "to sit on eggs," "to hatch," implying a primitive ba-r, may be at once connected with fu, old pu = pu-r, bur, "to brood on eggs"; and both with the Accadian [TVY] KIN-BUR, and its Assyrian replica kinburru (ša iṣṣûrı), "a bird's nest." (With KIN, cp. Chinese kin, "a clay hut or cabin"; or perhaps rather kin, "birds," the class Aves, in which case KINBUR would mean the brooding of birds. But as the character is also read AB-LAL, which is explained to mean kinnu ša işşûri, "a bird's nest," it seems probable that KIN-BUR is synonymous.)

The Accadian BAR, in some of its senses, has duplicates in BAD (\rightarrow and \overline{\rightarrow}). Thus we find BAD, "to depart," "remove,"

^{*} BAR-NUN resembles fa-nu, "angry, to express anger" (fa, old sound bat = BAD, means "to shoot").

"transport" (e.g., a people), "distant" (nisû), and "to open" (pitû); and BAD, "wall," "citadel," "high" (dûru, êlû), as well as BAR, "to depart," "remove," "distant" (nisû, nussû); BAR, "distant places" (rîkâtu; cp. KI-BAD, nisâtu); BAR, "to open" (pitû); BAR, "walls," "fortified town" (kamâtu, maḥâzu), and "high" (êlîtu, êlâtu). Further, BAD or BID, "dead," "corpse" (mîtu, pagru), answers to BAR, "a corpse" (pagru). Hence we see that pa, old sound pat or bat (= BAD), "a sacrifice to the gods of the road, made at starting on a journey," may be cognate with BAR, "to depart"; and so in other cases. The intermediate sound may have had final s (=t, d); cp. ER and Eš, "to weep," GIR and GIŠ, "heaven," with (G)Uš (or GIŠ) and GUD, "blood," (G)UŠ, "to set up" (êmêdu) 'high" (šaķû, êlâtu), and GUD, "high" (êlû). There are numerous instances in which we find a Chinese term with final -k, i.e., G, in place of Accadian R and L. As final D and G interchange so frequently in Accadian, this is not surprising. The Accadian BAR, "iron" (parzillu), may perhaps, therefore, be compared with the Chinese poh, dialectic pok, bok, i.e., bag = bar; in the compound, poh-t'ieh, "raw or unwrought iron."*

Hence also BAR, "liver," "feeling," "disposition," may be compared with p'oh (bag), dialectic p'ak, p'ék, p'ăk (= bag, big), "the animal soul," "the senses"; BAR, "to transport," "remove" (nussû), with p'oh "to banish, exile, drive into the desert"; BAR, "a brother," with poh, "eldest brother," dialectic pak, pek, pak (=big, beg, bag); BAR (in BABBAR = BAR-BAR) "white," with poh,† "white," dialectic pak, pék; and poh, "a piebald horse," dialectic pok, pak, bok (= pag, bag) with BAR, "spotted, striped, variegated." On the other hand, poh, "back to back," the 105th radical, dialectic pút, pwat (puat), beh, has final d (bad, bud, bid) = BAR, "back," "behind" (arku, arkâtu, aḥrû, aḥrâtu); and p'o, "white," dialectic $p'\delta$, bu, old sound ba, seems to point to ba(r), bu(r). Similarly, p'o (ba-r), dialectic po, p'wan, bu (= bar, ban, bur), may be compared with TY BAR, "a stone." The Chinese term is defined "stones like flint or obsidian, which can be used for spear or arrow-heads." It is not likely that the numerous values of the

^{*} The Chinese call tieh, "iron" (old sound dit = Canton tit), the black metal; dit is perhaps, therefore, related to \(\) III, DIR, "black."

[†] The planet Venus is called $T^{\epsilon}ai$ -poh, which irresistibly recalls the Accadian DIL-BAD, $\Delta\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\phi\acute{a}\tau$ (Hesych.), the planet Venus.

Accadian character for stone, ZA, ŞI, NA, DAG, DIG', BAR, were all identical in meaning; they must have denoted different kinds of stone.

With p'o (ba), "not," we may compare the Accadian BA, "not," BA-RA (lâ), and BAN, "not" (BAN = BA + NA). It would be easy to extend these comparisons; but I think the table given above will be sufficient to convince unprejudiced minds (1) That the numerous meanings assigned to the sound BAR by the Assyrian scribes are not arbitrary but really belonged to it in the old non-Semitic language of the country; and (2) that the closest possible relation connects that primitive tongue with the language of China.

THE IDEOGRAM (Y--Y.

This group is explained as meaning, "to be bright, or pure," "to make bright," "clean," e.g., hands, and so "pure," "holy," "purity," "to wash, or cleanse" (damâku, barâru, nummuru, damku, dumku, ubbubu). It is a compound of (>-, life, and >>, the sun; and thus exactly answers to the Chinese character \(\frac{1}{2}\) sing, Chifu shing, "a star," sing-sing, "the stars," "white hair"; a character composed of \(\frac{1}{2}\), shang, old shing, Chifu sang, Amoy seng, "to bear, to live, life." The connection between the ideas of being born and coming to light, being manifested or made visible, is seen in the old verse of Ennius: "Tu produxisti nos intra luminis oras," whence the Lucretian "Inde enascitur atque oras in luminis exit." Hence, to open, to come out, to grow, and to shine, are all expressed by the common \(\frac{1}{2}\) (pitû, aşû, rabû, \(\frac{1}{2}\)light, namâru, \(\hat{1}\)ru, namâru, \(\hat{2}\)ru, \(\frac{1}{2}\)ru, \(\hat{2}\)ru, \(\hat{2

The Accadian ()- therefore, pronounced ship, with phonetic complement ship-ga, or shing, shinga, "bright," is absolutely

identical, both in the character and the sound, with the Chinese sing, shing ("bright"), "star," which was originally identical with shing, Pekingese shang, "light," shang, "wise," "holy," for which additional characters were naturally invented at a later period.

The line, E.I.H., iv, 30, which I left unrendered, is to be read, ša-kin ALAM SHING ina tertia, "(Šamaš) who puttest the good thought (or desire) in my mind." ALAM, "image," "thought" (ṣalmu), recalls εἶδος, ἰδέα, εἴδωλον, and may be compared with lan, lam, to desire, lan, lam, to see. Elsewhere in Nebuchadrezzar's inscriptions, as I have before pointed out, we have the similar Mušaškin anna kînim ina tirtia, "Putting the right desire (annu, מוול, propensus fuit, (בי) desiderio affectus est) in my mind." The idea of looking or gazing at is connected with that of desiring, longing for, thinking of, in other Chinese and Accadian terms (see KIN-GAD, infra). I suppose that ṣalmu was selected by the Babylonian scribe to explain the Accadian term ALAM, because of the similar sound.

THE IDEOGRAM (W.

šuku = šukum = šukkum = šug-kum; and šug is "grain," "seed," , as we see in , šukkul (šug-kul), zêru, "seed." With the Accadian kul, "seed," cp. the Chinese ku, "grain, corn, the seeds of cereals," in Cantonese kòk (= ka-ka, fruit); with šug, "grain," the 202nd radical shu, "the panicled millet," "sorghum," and shu, older shok, "edible pulse of any kind." kur and kul are not far apart in Accadian; and the Chinese character ku, "grain," means also "good" and "lucky," much as in Accadian Kur is "to eat" (akâlu) and kur is "lucky" (damķu).* kum, the second element in šu-kum, is kung (th), "to place before, offer," "to supply," "to give," "grain for troops or revenue in kind" (cp. gun, billu); and, with a different tone, "to nourish," "to support"; "offerings," "presents." In Cantonese the character means "to

^{*} The preceding ku, "a ravine, a gorge," when joined with $f\check{a}ng$, "the wind," gives ku- $f\check{a}ng$, "the east"; cp. Accadian KIR (KUR) in KIR-RUD, "ravine," and KUR, "the east."

eat one's fill." Compounded with *shang* (old shung) it yields the phrase *shang-kung*, "to offer in worship"; the exact equivalent of the Accadian šukum(-NINNI).

The preceding and following homophones of *kung*, which mean "to revere," and "to give," "to present to," "reverential," are obviously identical in origin.

THE IDEOGRAM (E.

This character, read \(\bigcup \bigcup \bigcup \bigcup, \sigma_i. \) si-Giš-še, means an "offering," or "sacrifice" (niķû, kitrubu). It is noticeable that the sign for "grain," \(\bigcup, \) is involved in the ideogram for "offering" (vide supra).

The word SICIŠŠE may be analysed into SI-GIN-ŠE. Now SI has its equivalent in 記, sī, old si, "to sacrifice," "a sacrifice," in Amoy su (as in Accadian SI is dialectic for SU); GIN answers to 元章, yin, "to worship with pure intention and clean sacrifices," which appears compounded with the former, in yin-sī (= GIN-SI), "a pure sacrifice," "a sweet-smelling offering"; and šê, originally SHEG, SHIG, SHING, may be compared with 生, shǎng, old shing, "sacrificial animals, victims."

As the Accadian term was accented on the penult, SI-GÍŠŠE, it is probable that GIŠŠE has survived in the Chinese hi-shāng, old sound ki-shing or gi-shing, "animals offered in sacrifice"; a term which appears in Japanese as gisei, "a sacrifice." The character for hi, "victims," is composed of animals + breath, just as a synonym hi, "living cattle anciently offered to the gods... provisions, food, grain" ($vide\ supra$), is composed of $eat\ (shih$, shik = Accadian \S HE, \S EG, \S UG, "grain," "food") + breath.*

THE IDEOGRAM -- AND THE NAME MERODACH.

This sign is (אָר the eye, to see, life, soul, spirit, within seat, city (sedes hominum); of which the archaic forms are and ... Combining the two in their original vertical position we get ... This ideogram was pronounced silig, "the strong," or "the champion" (šagapuru), בְּבֹוֹר (Ps. xix, 5), see below, p. 415; and ASARU or ASARI, as a title of the god Merodach (2 R 55, 68 c.). The

^{*} The saying I-wo ts'i-ming, yü-wo hi-yang "with me grain bright, with me a pure ram," i.e., "my vessels are full of clean millet, and I have a pure ram, to sacrifice," illustrates what is said above. Ts'i must be 21, "grain," ζειά (?).

coincidence of sound with the Egyptian Asari or rather Uasar ($W\bar{a}s\bar{a}ri$) is evident enough; but that might be the result of mere chance, were it not for the fact that the Accadian and Egyptian ideograms also coincide: (a seat + an eye) is the common hieroglyph for Osiris. Uas is a seat; cp. Uas-t, Thebes, for the natural transfer to the meaning of city, dwelling-place. But the reason of this ideogram does not appear from the Egyptian. Whether Accadian throws any light upon it we shall see.

and as each of its elements admits of various meanings, e.g., DUG is "good" (♦), and DUG is "head" (◄) ≿ \\), and DUG is "to see" (do.), and DUG () is "to melt," we can understand that various interpretations might be put upon the entire name by the Babylonian literati. Hence, as MAR means "to sit," "dwell" (ašabu), and DUG, "to see" (p. 414 infra), the god might be indicated by a combination of eve + seat, without necessitating the assumption that the old Accadians were scientific etymologists, either in this or in any other instance. Yet, at the remote period when this curious ideogram was originally invented, the meaning of Mardug as an appellative may still have been transparent to the ancient people who used the name. And when we consider that the forms URU (gur), GAL (whence Assyrian alu), עיר, אָיר, אָיר, אָיר, ERI, on the one hand, and the forms GAN, KAR (, subtu, "seat," sedes) on the other, really imply that in Accadian the oldest terms for "seat," "city," were GAR (GAN, GAL, etc.), GUR (GUN, UN), and MAR (MÊR, ER); and, further, that the ideas of seeing and living (TIN, hâțu, TIN, balâtu), eye and spirit (SHI), were expressed by the same terms, in that ancient idiom; we may be disposed to think that Mardug was originally thought of as the eye or guardian spirit of man's seat or dwelling-place.*

^{*} Cf. TIN-TIR, subat baláți, perhaps rather subat napisti or nissi. On the other hand, as TIN meant "a seat" as well as "life" (III IIII KIS-TIN, kussû = KI-IŠ-A, KIŠ-DU? = (III DU, subtu), it is possible that the ideogram IIII was originally seat with the determinative or defining spirit added thereto. To live and to dwell are naturally connected ideas.

all things, or watches over man (5 R 46, 28 e.), seem to lend support to this view. To the old mythologist the Sun is the Divine Eye that sees everything. Consequently Šamaš, who is but one of the many doubles of Merodach, is like Osiris the Judge of man.

"Heaven," "God," "King," "Spirits," in Chinese and Accadian.

The Accadian >> Y, Archaic **, read ANA, is defined šamû, "heaven," and Anu, the god of heaven, or heaven personified (Dyaus). Read DINGIR, and DIMMER or DIMER (dimir), it is defined ilu, "god," and šarru, "king." Read ANU and £ššu (= AN-šug)* it is defined šubultu "ear" (of corn), and šubultu ša še'im, "ear of corn"; while AN is sissinnu, "a palm branch." The definition kakkabu, "a star," probably belongs to DINGIR; that of šaķû, "high" (>> \, >> \,), êlû, "high," "on the top," is to be connected with ANA, often written - I, AN-NA (cp. ngan, an, "a bank, a high cliff, a high forehead," etc.). I have already given reasons for regarding GAN (ngan) as the primitive root which appears in ANA, "high," "stalk," "heaven" (that which is upheaven), EN, bêlu, "lord," and other related words. The sign → is also explained by bêlu, "lord"; in which sense it was probably read AN, AN-NA, like ÊN, ÊN-NA, "lord." It also meant rêšu, "head," which agrees with the Chinese yuen, dialectic ün, gwan, yün, "a large head," and yuen, "the first, the head, the principal, eldest." The yet further meaning of "lead" (the metal), AN-NA, afterwards read NAGGA, NIGGI, agrees with the Chinese yuen, also read yen, called "the azure metal" and "the black metal," terms which indicate why the Accadians called it "sky"-metal, dialectic ün, yan, in, the Japanese en; the Peking ch'ien (=din), which is related to the Accadian NIGGI (= ningi). Lastly, AN in the sense of sêru, "common, waste, desert," for which we find >> Y > Y AN-NA alone, and → X AN-DINNA, is to be compared with 原 yuen, "plateau, or high and level field, waste, common," dialectic ün, gwan, niin, as also with Juf GANA, "field" (êklu), and yuen,

^{*} AN-SUG, i.e., ... In Chinese wheat is called lai, because "it came down from heaven."

[†] Or ANA-ÊDINNA; but may not AN have become £N and then £, as in the instance p. 414 note, so that £-DIN sprang from GAN-DIN?

"garden, park." The Assyrian sêru, sîru, is probably related to sîru, "high"; so that we have here another reason for supposing a real connexion between (g)AN, "heaven," and (g)AN, "plateau, terrace, field," tien, "heaven," and tien, "field" = DIN, L-DIN. It is probable that DINGIR, DIMMÍR, meant "heaven," and then "heavenly being," "god," upon the following grounds:—(1) We have the equation GI-IR-RA (GIRRA) = AN-NA (ANNA or ANA) = $šam\hat{c}$, "the heavens," and this GIRRA (dialectic MÍRRA) may be the second element in DINGIR, DINGIRRA; (2) DIN, DIM, the first element, answers to 1DIM, ÊDIM, šamû, "heaven," DÍMMA, "king" (šarru), and to the Chinese t'ien (tín, dín), "heaven," which itself "though without definite personality, is employed more than any other Chinese term to indicate God," much as the Rabbis used shamayim, and as we speak of the will of Heaven: (3) the term DINGIR thus appears to be an ordinary combination of two synonyms, such as we have already often met with, and of which a trace perhaps survives in the Chinese 无氣 t'ien-k'i, "the weather" (heaven + air).

The second Chinese character for t'ien, "heaven," 青氣, involves the signs tsing, "blue," and ki, "air" or "ether." It at once recalls the Accadian F ZIKUM, šamû, "heaven," which is doubtless to be analysed into zig, zi (= sig, arku, which, like the Chinese ts'ing, meant both green and azure) + KUM. What was KUM? The Chinese expression 宫聋 k'iüng-ts'ang, "the azure canopy, the empyrean, the abode of the higher powers," may inform us. Ts'ang, "the green tint of plants—the azure of the sky," is a synonym of ts'ing (zag = zig); * cp. ts'ang-ts'ing (zag-zig), "the greenish-blue of distant hills": k'iüng or k'üng (the sign is cavern + bow, as if arched cave) is defined "lofty, high and vast as the sky, empty, a hole." It is evident that k'iiing-ts'ang (=kum-zag) is identical with the Accadian zi-kum; the elements being reversed, as in zu-AB, AB-zu, and other Accadian expressions. Kum is concave (cp. Rum=G'um, in KIRRUM, "hole"). This agrees with the fact that >-, IDIM, means a "hole" (nakbu), as well as "heaven" (šamû).†

^{*} Here and elsewhere it will be noticed that Chinese ts, ts', = Accadian z. This rule is as general as that Chinese ch, ch', = Accadian D (or T), or that Chinese y = Accadian G, G' (or a lost initial G). I was not quite clear upon this head in my first paper. Strictly, ch = T, and j = D.

[†] The other value of the Accadian sign read ZIKUM, "heaven," is TU, apsil, "the abyss." Cp. the Egyptian , tua-t, "the nether-heaven." The signs, as well as the words, correspond. Both are star + house.

The saying Then to kind shan, "Heaven is greater than the gods," presents us with shan, old shin, dialectic shan, sin, zang (= shin, sin, zig), "spirit"; a term corresponding to the Accadian zi, shi, "spirit," "divine being" (zi-anna, zi-kia). The Chinese say that shan denotes the yang (yéung, yong = Gin, Gan), "the powers above, the superior of the dual powers in Nature, the male (Accadian Gin) as opposed to the female or receptive element," which is called yin, dialectic yam, im, yang (= Gim, im, Gig = Accadian Ginf, Gin, "maid," "girl"), and which means "a shadow, dark, Hades (Gig, Gê, the Accadian for "night," "dark"), the inferior of the dual powers." Hence we understand why zang is also Shanghai for jan, "man," and why shi, Amoy si, means "strength" and "virility of males," and shi-lih, Amoy sé-lék, "strength, prowess" (= Accadian silig).

But when the Chinese speak of a particular god, as the God of War, or the God of Fire, they use the term 帝, ti, a character of obscure origin, which is defined to mean "one who rules by his own power, a god, a divine being," and, like the Accadian DINGIR, DIMMÊR, is also applied to the sovereign; while like >> \(\), it also means "Heaven." The term is, I think, identical with the Accadian K TI, TIL, "to live" (balâțu), and "to dwell" (ašâbu); and the character is not altogether unlike the archaic* <,-, that is, This Accadian TI, TIL, is closely related to (!!), old form (!), TIN, DIN, meaning "to live" (balâțu), "seeing" (haițu), "strong drink" or "spirits" (šikaru), and "male" (zikaru). Comparing this with what has been said above, it becomes highly probable that the fundamental idea is seeing. The seeing are the living (οί βλέποντες); the living are endowed with life or spirit; the male is the spirited animal, and the source of life or spirit by procreation; while the transfer to strong liquids which rouse the spirits is natural enough. Hence the Chinese writer who said, "Ti means a lord of living things," came nearer to the truth than he was aware of. Hence too we understand better why a god is represented by an eye (p. 401); and we may feel justified in drawing up the series zi, ZIN, SHI, SHIN, DI, DIN (NIN), TI, TIN, GIN, KIN—"to see," "to live," "spirit," "man."

^{*} Cp. the Egyptian $\bigcap_{i=1}^{n}$, $\bar{a}nch$, "living," the prominent attribute of gods and of the blessed dead.

The sign \leftarrow (vide supra) was also read TIL, in the sense of "to live" (balâṭu), and "to finish," "cut off" (gamâru, katû); with the latter we may compare t'ien, "to terminate," and "exterminate."

Further, as (M TIN or DIN means "seeing," it answers immediately to the Chinese tien, "to consider," tien, "to glance at," "regard with attention."

The Chinese 上 帝 Shang-ti, "the supreme ruler, the highest being in the heavenly Pantheon," also called tien-ti, "the ti of heaven," may now perhaps be explained. "The radical idea of ti," says Dr. Williams, "is a ruler of the highest kind," and he gives "to judge" as the first meaning of the character, for which, however, the next, viz., 諦 (the same sign with the determinative words), ti, "to judge," "to examine into, to decide between," is now used. This latter plainly corresponds to the Accadian (to judge," properly "to distinguish between" (discerno, and then decerno); the d-form of zi, shi, and the rest of the series of related terms meaning "to see," and then "to know." But the primitive meaning of ti, "a god," was, as we have concluded, "a seer," or "spirit"; and the word DI, "to see," occurs in the Accadian compound 睇 ti, "to gaze at," Cantonese tei, "to see," "to look." The idea of seeing is the fundamental idea of the primitive DI, TI; that of judging is secondary.

As to the *Shang* of Shang-ti, it obviously is identical with the Accadian SANG, SHANG, "head, top, great, chief, first-born," of which the oldest form is . *Shang* means "top, above, high,

that which is above or high; Heaven; superior, excellent, honourable, exalted"; thus agreeing very well with the Accadian term. In my last paper I pointed out that the Accadian \(\text{TI}\), "head," ought to be read as it stood, SAG-DU or SANG-DU. I have since come across this very term in Chinese, viz., \(\text{TI}\), \(\text{SANG-DU}\), \(\text{shang-t'au}\), "the head or chief." The Shanghai equivalent, \(\text{zong-dû} = \text{Accadian zag, zang, "head"+DU.}\) A god is mentioned under the title of DINGIR SANG-DUGGA, which is paraphrased by the Assyrian \(\text{ilu bânišu}\), "the god his father"; and Caivan or Saturn is called SANG-UŠ, and Nin-ib, SANG-TAR, forms which are parallel to Shang-ti. And just as \(\text{shang-shang}\) means "of the best quality," so SANG-SANG is "great" or "excellent" \((kabtu\), "heavy," like gravis). Finally, I have said that \(\text{UK}\), TIN or DIN, "life," is also "spirits" or "strong drink." Accordingly, we have \(\text{TI}\) \(\text{CK}\), SANG-TIN, not as a title of the highest god, but of the best spirits or liquor.*

THE IDEOGRAM

This character is compounded of ξ_{HH} , man, and λ other, brother. It had the sounds sis, phonetically spelled si-es(fs), and sis, as appears from the word ξ_{HH} sis-si, as well as uru. Like its synonym kur, the term denoted both brother, and enemy (ahu, limnu); which may be explained by the fact that in polygamous countries a brother is often a rival claimant for the father's favour and the family inheritance (cp). Ishmael and Isaac; Joseph's Brethren).

šís or rather šissi appears to be compounded of šin + si(n), the pronunciation hovering between sh and s for the initial sound, a hesitation which is faithfully reflected in the writing. šin(sin), therefore, would seem to be a primitive term for *brother* in Accadian, as *sen*

* The ideogram has the gloss (KU-RUN), an Accadian term, which is explained sabû, the Hebrew Nad vinum; cp. the Chinese \mathbf{E}_{L}^{L} , ku, "new spirits," and nung, Amoy long, "thick, rich," of spirits; kan-nung, "sweet or oily wine" (= karran, i.e., KARAN, karânu, "wine"). The Accadian \mathbf{M} TIN (DIN), "strong drink," is not to be directly compared to tsiu; it is more nearly related to the Amoy chiu (=du). But ting, "drunk"; tan, Shanghai tc^{ln} (=tin), "fond of wine"; t'an, Amoy tam, Shanghai dc^{ln} (=din), "generous wine," and t'i, Amoy t'i, Shanghai di, "reddish, but pure clear liquor," "rich wine," are closer representatives of TIN, DIN; ct, also ticn, "to pour a libation"; t'icn, "well-tasted," of wine; t'icn, "to strengthen spirits." All these terms except the last two have the prefix t'iin, "strong drink." Ching, "to distil spirits" = ting, tin.

(sin) is in Egyptian.* It is a curious circumstance that the moongod is designated in Accadian by a group of characters which contain this (4R1, 29b. et al.). Sin, the ordinary Assyrian (yet non-Semitic, because uninflected) name of the moongod, is homophonous with SIN(ŠIN), brother; which may account for the use of this ideogram in writing his name, even if the two roots were originally unconnected. The group - Y E was read NANNA, according to one passage in the documents (na-an-na: 5 R 23, 32 g.); but this, of course, does not exclude other possible values. Comparing NANNA with NINNI (= nin + nin), I think NANNA may be equivalent to nan + nan, "great man," "lord." NAN and NIN may both mean "man," for which, in both Accadian and Chinese, we find terms destitute of the marks of gender, and denoting, therefore, either man or woman (lord or lady). In Chinese, as in Accadian, terms denoting sex are prefixed to these sexless words for the sake of precision. Jun (=din) being "a man," which in Cantonese is pronounced yan (=gin), in Amoy jin (=din), in Shanghai niang (=nin), a Chinaman says nan-jan for a man, as opposed to a woman, nii-jan. But I have already shown, by comparison of the Accadian forms, that nan, dialectic nam, lam, ne^n (= nin), and $n\ddot{u}$, dialectic $n\ddot{u}$, lu, are themselves originally ambiguous as regards gender; cp. Accadian NIN, "lord" and "lady," LAM (= DAM, "wife"), which, with the prefix NITA, "male," means "husband," ETT LU, "man." MU-LU is explained "man," "lady," and "people" (amêlu, bêltu, nišu). GIN is "male," (-) zikâru) and GIN is "maid" (amtu); cp. Chinese vin, "a bride," dialectic yăn, in, yăng (= gin, in, gim: cp. Accadian in, "lord," and Gímí "maid"). 🛧, the common determinative prefix for "female," had the value GAL, as well as SAL (cp. sao, Amoy sò = sa-l, "a woman," "a matron") and RAG (cp. LAG, LUG, servant, LAM, LU, man, and Chinese lang, a man); but GAL is also "man" (Em had this sound also). The root-idea of GAL, "man," may have been "great," strong," or "high": cp. \ Y GAL, "great," \ YYY KALA, "strong," "high;" EN, "lord" = AN = GAN, "high;" and so on. In Chinese we have lao, dialectic lo (= la), liau, "large," "great,"

^{*} The evidence of this and other common vocables, points to a very early connexion between the primitive languages of Babylonia and Egypt; although the latter has developed on quite independent lines, and been influenced by its own environment.

which in the Cantonese means "a man," "a fellow;" lih (lik) = Accadian LIG, "strong."

Ar to the ($\[\] \]$ KI in $\[\]$ KI in $\[\]$ KI in snatural to compare it with the Chinese ko, old sound ka, Shanghai ku, "an elder brother"; cp. also ki, "the youngest of brothers," and kin, "a wife's sisters," "sisters-in-law." In this case, the whole group, DINGIR + SIS(SI) + KI, god + brother + brother, means the Brother God, that is, I suppose, the kinsman and protector of his worshippers.

But now, what Chinese term corresponds to šissi, "brother"? We have seen that the term may be analysed into SIN + SIN, just as NINNI is NIN + NIN. The duplication expresses greatness, and so the deep respect of the speaker; just as in Chinese niăng-niăng (= NINNI) is "Lady," and ko-ko, "my elder brother." I think I have found the equivalent of sin, brother, in 兄, h'iung, or as some write it, hsiung, "an elder brother," which is used also as a title of respect, like Mr., Don, Señor, etc. H'iüng or hsiüng is a modification of h'im or h'in (hsim or hsin), as niang is of nin. Dr. Wells Williams remarks that the initial sound, which he writes h', is like the Spanish x in Quixote; "sh would be too much," to represent it. This seems to savour of the Babylonian hesitation between sin and sin; cp. sikka and sukka, "he-goat" (atûdu). At all events, the fact that se, "an elder brother," is given as the equivalent of this character h'iung in the Japanese lexicon, strongly confirms our identification of it with the Accadian šís(si) or šes(si).* The other value of Ethe, uru, a synonym of šís, appears to be a worn form of KUR, "brother," "enemy." (See March Proceedings.)

In speaking of an elder brother, you may say kia-h'iung, "my elder brother." Kia, dialectic ka (Canton, Amoy, Shanghai), but also kia (Swatow, Chifu), Peking chia, means "a household, a family, a home," and then "a house, a building," and even "a village." It is also used as "a title of a husband and of some dignitaries," and is "a suffix to nouns to denote persons"; finally, it means "the country or government," and "to dwell" (cp. (E), KI and KI-A, "to dwell, dwelling, place, land," etc.). In the expression kia-

^{*} The transition from sibilant to *spiritus asper*, so familiar in Aryan languages, hardly needs illustration: Sanskr. shash, saptan, Latin sex, septem, Greek $\xi\xi$, $\xi\pi\tau\alpha$, six, seven, occur at once. So in Chinese under $S\ddot{U}H$ we find characters pronounced $h^{\epsilon}\ddot{u}$, and under sin, $h^{\epsilon}\ddot{u}n$; just like Sanskr. sunus, Zend hunu, Sohne, son.

h'iung, its force seems to be "family" or "clan" (as in kia-ch'ang, kia-tie, etc.). As a title kia also occurs in the phrases t'ien-kia, "heaven-kia," and kwoh-kia, "country-kia," meaning the emperor. It seems very probable that the Accadian šis-ki (or ki-šissi) is the ancient equivalent of the modern Chinese kia-h'iung; so that the moon-god was called "elder brother of the clan," or simply "the elder brother." This reminds us of a great number of Semitic personal names, in which the Deity is claimed as kinsman or brother of the family; Ammi-shaddai, Ahi-yah, etc.

The archaic form of the Accadian (\mathbf{E}) \mathbf{K} I, as exhibited by the *Stèle des Vautours*, viz., \mathbf{e} , which when restored to its original upright position is \mathbf{e} , favours this opinion; for the Chinese character \mathbf{k} with which we are comparing it, originally consisted of a *shelter* and three *persons* under it, although now \mathbf{k} *shi*, a pig, has taken the place of the three men under the roof, probably by confusion with \mathbf{k} *shi*, "a family, clan, gens, a clansman"; a term which also once denoted "the head of the clan," and accordingly was anciently a title of honour. This last term is perhaps related to the first element in §íssi.

But the Accadian \(\sum_{\text{times}}\), \(\sigm_{\text{iff}}\), \(\sigm_{\text{iff}}\), \(\sigm_{\text{iff}}\), \(\sigm_{\text{iff}}\), \(\sigm_{\text{iff}}\), \(\sigm_{\text{iff}}\), \(\text{iff}\), \(\text{therefore}\), \(\hat{h'iung}\) answers to the group in the one sense, it ought to in the other, assuming that the two terms are really related. Now the very next character pronounced \(\hat{h'iung}\) in the Chinese lexicon is \(\text{M}\), \(\hat{h'iung}\), \(\text{uulucky}\), baleful, malignant, cruel," and this is followed by \(\text{M}\), \(\hat{h'iung}\), \(\text{uulucky}\), walevolent, inhuman, cruel, malignant, wicked, vicious"; meanings which are all included in the Assyrian \(\limnu_{\text{imnu}}\), \(\text{uulucky}\), of days and events; "evil, malignant, cruel," of demons and human enemies.

THE IDEOGRAM (ATT).

A distinguished foreign professor has lately alleged against my views that "any Chinese word may mean anything whatever." The language, however, is far from being so accommodating to my comparisons as this would imply. In the present instance there are only ten leading characters pronounced h'iung, and these are not all independent of each other. And as regards the tones making all the difference to the meaning, h'iung, "elder brother," h'iung, unlucky," and h'iung, "malevolent," have the same tone or shing, viz., the shang p'ing tone; and are thus perfectly homophonous, as we should expect them to be, from their common origin in the Accadian

šíssi. Certainly, it cannot be alleged, except in jest, that "any Chinese word may mean anything." The statement is signally false in the case of this particular sound h'iung, which means exactly what a knowledge of Accadian would lead us to expect. Let us follow it a little further. The next two characters are 小句 h'iung, "frightened, startled" (heart + breast), and 包], h'iung, "the thorax, the breast, the feelings, the heart, the affections; clamour, brawling." Now this second character is meant to represent "the thorax enveloping the heart," and, consequently, answers exactly to the Accadian (which, in archaic form would be . It is the heart (AYYY) within an enclosure.* The recognized terms for "heart" in Accadian are šAG, šAB (= šAM), and šA; and the oldest known form of Ayyy is . In Chinese, No, sin, old sound sim, "the heart," appears in the dialects as sam (= sim), sin, sing, and shin. By a natural transfer of ideas, the term also means "middle," "mind," "will," "affections," "desire," "origin," "source." The common Accadian phrase > Y AYYY EYYYA ANA-SAGGA, "the middle of heaven" (kirib šamê), is parallel to the Chinese t'ien-sin (din-sim), "the meridian, the zenith"; and the Chinese 此 田, sin-t'ien (sim-din), "design, intention," seems to supply the d-form corresponding to the Accadian YYY -Y SAG-GINNA, YYYY - YA SAG-GIN-GAN, "wish design" (bibil, or babâl libbi).

Now the Accadian (如何, which we have seen to have been originally a form identical with 何 h'iung (sin or sim), "the thorax," is rendered "heart," and "middle," and "bosom," by the Assyrians (libbu, kirbu, şurru = "Herzbeutel," Delitzsch), just like () ša (B, G); while, among its sounds, we find ším, which is explained by the rarer synonym halhallatu, "heart" (cp. ألْمُنْ لَكُنُّ "the heart," and also "the liver"). It was a great satisfaction to me to find this word ším, so closely corresponding to the old Chinese sim, "heart"; and to which šab (=šam) is related as MAN, "two," is to MIN "two." I trust my readers may be equally satisfied.†

^{*} Cp. Nos. 236 and 258, Amiaud and Méchineau, Tabl. Comp.

[†] In regard to LI-KIR, the other value of the ideogram, rendered "heart" (libbu), I cannot help remembering that LI means "in," properly "the inside," both in Accadian and in Chinese, much as libbu and kirbu themselves are often used in combination with a preposition to indicate the same idea. As to KIR, k'iao Cantonese k'iu, "a hole," "cavity," "the heart," may perhaps be compared (k'iu=ki-r). And Japanese kokoro, "heart," may be related.

The relation between Accadian words with initial K and s(š), already glanced at, is observable also in Chinese. If the sound hiung presupposes an older sin, sim, on the one hand, it presupposes an older kin, kun, on the other. Hence a relation becomes visible between ko (ka), Shanghai ku, "elder brother," kiu, do., Accadian KU-R (= kuš), "brother," and hiung (sin), "elder brother," Japanese se, Accadian šis; which is just like that between Accadian KIN(GIN) in KIN-Mís, "old man," "grandsire," (bursumu), -= [+] = [1], and si, sic, sun (= sin), "old" (lâbiru), (Y-JEY). (This character seems also to have had the sound of KUR in the same sense; cp. the Chinese 古 ku, "ancient," "old," and kiu, "old." Chinese has also si, dialectic sik, "old," sien (sin), "first, the ancients," and sau (su), Shanghai sù, "an old man"; in exact agreement with the Accadian. So 极 sung, "pine-tree," including firs and yews, is written with the phonetic kung, showing that it once had that sound; and the same character with the radical ts'ao, "plant," is pronounced sung, "cabbage," a general term for such plants. Compare this with the Accadian sim, "greens" (urkitu), and FETY SIM-LI (?), "pine" (burâsu). Compare also FYYE SAM (SAM), the common prefix of vegetables, which also had the values KUŠ, GUŠ, GUD, whence, by abrasion, U. So, again, 奴, kung, "an insect," read sung in the sense of "grasshopper"; cp. KI-SIM, a kind of locust or grasshopper. The same ideogram is read šu-RIN,

^{*} Siao, "little," dialectic siu, siau, sio, shao, seems to indicate a primary sir, shir, shar: cp. ** SIR, "little." With jan, jin, cp. DIN, zikaru, "male," "man."

in the sense of "grasshopper" or "cricket" (sasiru, צרצר); which reminds us of the relation between initial R and s exhibited by the ideograms III sim (and Rig), III sun (and Rug). both the meaning "bright, pure, white," is assigned (ibbu, éllu). With RUG (RIG) in this sense we may compare šu-RUS, "to flash, sparkle, flame, shine" (hamâtu, kabâbu, šabâbu, šamû). But we also find šu-g'us with a similar sense (šabābu, šamū); which shows, as Haupt has pointed out, that the Accadian G' (=R) is really a sound akin to the Semitic guttural strong Ayin (¿), resembling r grasséyé. This accounts for the few characters given under yung (gug, gun) in the Chinese lexicon, which the Pekingese pronounce like rung: ஜ yung, rung, "glory, splendour," "blood" (cp. RUN in Accadian GU-RUN, "blood," damu); To rung (3 fires + roof) "sparkling," "blazing," " rung, "lustre of gems," "lustrous," "to brighten," and one or two other characters. The Accadian RIG also means "to surround," "enclose" (in revolve" (of eddies); rung, "rills," "rivulets"; k rung, "to wind, tie around, coil around; go around." Considering that an initial r is not found in the Chinese lexicon, except in these few instances under yung, these coincidences seem to me to be very significant.

Returning now to the Chinese vocable with which we are chiefly concerned, we may point out that 雄 hiung (bird + arm), "a cock bird, the male of insects and small animals; the best, masculine, martial; brave, heroic," is clearly related to 🔀 kung, "prince, lord, master; the male of animals; husband," on the one hand, and to sin, sim, shim, "heart" (qs. "hearty," "courageous," "spirited"), on the other. The leading idea, as in 19 hiung, "pre-eminent, high, exalted," seems to be that of brightness, and so superiority; ch. >= Tot, sun (sin), "pure," "glorious" (ibbu, ellu), (YY KU, "glorious" (ellu), # KUN, "to be bright, to shine" (namâru): also 上文 UKU, "day," and "king" (ûmu, šârru). 能 hiung, "the bear," which involves the character for flame, is difficult; but this element of fire, and the fact that the character repeated is used of brightness, in the phrase ki-kwang hinng-hinng, "the glare (was) intense," seems to connect it with the same idea. Perhaps it originally meant the white bear (= šun or šin, "white," ibbu).

The sole remaining character with this sound is [10], hiung, "to spy about, observe, watch, inform." In Accadian it is well-known that terms denoting light and sight are closely related, and we find the same sign with the meanings "to be bright," and "to see" (namâru, amâru). This use of the Chinese sin, shin, is therefore to be compared with (Y-, ši, which includes those two senses, and moreover with the groups

(1- = 1111 and (1- = 1111 -=1-1 = 11114,

which I read ši-ín (šín), * ši-ín-dug-ga (šín-dugga), which are both explained "to see" (amâru). The transition from seeing to causing to see, making known, informing, as in (PAD, "to shine, to see, to show, to say," is easy enough. (Y-, SHI (shin) may be the s-form of zI, "to know," and of DI, "to judge" (discern). Cp. Chinese shen, "glittering," shen-kien, "sawit an instant"; shen (eye + blaze), "to glance at, to peep," shen-mu, "to take a look at," shenshen, "glittering"; shun, "to wink, to glance."

If after this demonstration of the close relation between the Accadian SIN, SIN, SIM, SIM, and the Chinese hiung or hsiung, people still incline to the opinion that any Chinese word, or any Accadian word, may mean anything you please, I will ask them to consider whether it is likely that corresponding compound terms should have fortuitously arisen in the two languages, and then to examine the following list:-

ACCADIAN.

fice. šukum (= šug-kum), an offering.

zikum (= zig-kum), heaven. GUKKAL (= GUG-KAL), ram.

CHINESE.

si-giššê (í) (= si-gin-šê), a sacri- yin-si, a sacrifice; Japanese, gisei = Chinese hi-shăng, victims. shang-kung, to offer in worship. k'iüng-ts'ang, heaven. yang-ku, ram.

* That \(\)(i), archaic \(\); \(\)(i), "house" (bitu) originally had the value IN is clear from its use in IN-GAR, 5 R 42, 56 g. IN became E (i) by wearing down, as IN, "clothes," became the Chinese i, "clothes," or as GIN became Gí; cp. -II, in, šiptu, with $\succeq V$, E (i) kabû. But, further, this in (EN), "a house," like its other Accadian homophones, represents a primitive GIN (GAN). GIN, "house," and GIN, "clothes," both meant shelter, covering; φ . The spen, (gin), dialectic im siam nge^{in} (gin), "a shelter," of which the original form is said by some to resemble a house. The character is the 53rd radical, and enters into the composition of characters relating to dwellings.

ACCADIAN.

KINGAD, love, to love.

KA-LUM, fruit. Lu-gug, sheep, ram. SI-LIG, leader, strong. SAG-DU (sang-du), † head. su-shi, a corpse.

sag-gigga, the Black-headed (a name of the Accadians). SAG is the Chinese sang, sing, and GIG is yih, yik, "black."

DIL-BAD, Δελεφάτ (Hesych.), the planet Venus. LIG-BI(-KU), wolf. BAN-SUR, dish, banquet, feast.

NINNI (= NIN + NIN), The Great Lady or Goddess (Ishtar). (šis-)si-ki, elder brother (Sin). KUD-DIN, younger brother. (MU)KU, a timber tree (sign = (mu) ku, a timber tree (sign = MU, tree + KU, dwell).

CHINESE.

ts'in (formerly kin)*-ngai, love. kien-ngai, to love all equally. kwo-lo, fruit (of all kinds). ling-yang, a sheep-like deer. shi-lih (old lik), strength, prowess. shang-t'au, the head or chief. sï-shi, a dead body; Shanghai

k'ien-shau, Black-heads; a name of the Chinese (cp. Accadian KAN, "black") from Ts'in-Chi-Hwangti's time (circa 225 B.C.), according to the native authorities; but probably much older.

T'ai-poh, the planet Venus.

lang-pei, wolf.

făng-si, a plenteous table (full goblet or plate + table), a feast.

niăng-niăng (= nin-nin), lady goddess.

kia-hiung (ki-sin), elder brother. ko-ti, younger brother.

mu, tree + ku, dwell).

It should perhaps be mentioned, though the fact will be evident enough to Chinese and Accadian scholars in their respective departments, that in no case are these compound terms hypothetical formations of my own (like pin-lut = the Accadian BILLUDU, for

^{*} As the phonetic of the character indicates.

⁺ sag (sang), "head," and "chief," was dialectically SHAG (shang). It is related to Chinese sang, "forehead," and sin, sing, "the sinciput" (Chifu shing), as well as to shau (old shug), Shanghai sù, "the head." Further, such an alternative as sin or sing, "the sinciput," enables us to understand how sag shang) or sag can be "mountain," "peak" in Accadian, and shan (=shang), "mountain," in Chinese.

example). All are taken from the accessible repertories of the two languages; and my task has been simply to find and compare them: indice monstravi digito.

As a result of our comparisons thus far, certain laws appear to emerge:—

I. Laws of the Modification of Elementary Sounds: as, e.g., for initial consonants, that Chinese y = Accadian g; * Chinese ch (ch') = Accadian t (or d); Chinese j = Accadian d; Chinese ts (ts') = Accadian z; Chinese f = Accadian p (b); Chinese h (h') = Accadian k (g), s (§); Chinese w, v = Accadian m (v); and Chinese l = Accadian l, d, or r.

For final consonants, that Chinese ng may represent (a) an Accadian final m or n, as in kung = kum, rung = kun (in Gu-Run), hiung = šin, sin, šim; $ni\[ang] = \text{nin}$; liang, liang, liang, liang, "humane," = Lim (cp). Me-Li) = Lam (in Nita-Lam), "man," as $j\[angle and$, "humane," = $j\[angle and$, "man" (Accadian Din = Gin): or (b) an Accadian g (ng), as yang, yung, yung, yong, = Gug (gung), "sheep," sang, shang, zong = sag, sag, sag, sag, sag, sag, sag, "green," "azure" = zi(G), † sig (zing, sing), "green."

That a Chinese final vowel (1) may represent a final Accadian vowel, pa = BA, ti = DI, mu = MU; or (2) may imply, as in Accadian itself, the loss of a final consonant, k, p, t (g, b, d), s, r, l; as pao = BA-R, BA-L, mao = MA-Š, "leader," "foremost," yi (yik) = GIG, "disease," pa (pat) = BAD, "high," kiu, kii = KU-R, ngai (ngat) = GA-D, "to love," p'ai (pat) = BA-D, "to open," si (sik) = SI, SIG, "clothes," "grief," and so on.

As to internal vowels, a and u interchange in the dialects, and u and i everywhere show the closest affinity to each other, exactly as in the Accadian.

II. A law of Dialectic Correspondence; as when we find that ch'ih, old dik, "a step," is ch'ik (= dig) in Cantonese, and $ts'\check{a}k$ (= zig) in Shanghai, or that ch'ih, "red," is ch'ik in Cantonese, and

^{*} Or a lost initial g; yuen = AN, "waste." My original instance, ye, "night," "darkness," agrees more exactly with the Accadian than I then perceived. The dialectic ye, ya, ya, point to GI and GA, while the elements of the character (sik), "evening," +yik, ék, "also" show that the final sound was k (g). In Accadian the character was called GA-GIG, and had each of those values, as well as GE or GÍ.

[†] In zi-KUM, "heaven."

ts'èk (=zig) in Shanghai, just like the Accadian DUG = ZIB; or that ven, "word," is in Cantonese in, in Amoy gian, in Shanghai yin, like the Accadian, in, "speech," "charm," "word," cü(N), "to speak," GI(N) "to answer"; or that jan, old nin, "a man," is yan, jin, niang in the three dialects, forms equivalent to the Accadian GIN, DIN, NIN (NI) which all mean "male," "man"; or that juh, "to enter," old nip, is in the three dialects yap, jip, zeh (=gib, dib, zib), with which we may compare the Accadian [E] DIB alâku, bâ'u, "to come," "to come in"; or, again, as when we find that mau, "the eye," "to look at," answers to bb (=ba) in Amoy, and ma, "linen," to Amoy ba, just as Accadian MAS answer to BAR, and so in many other instances; or that mu, "wood," has its counterpart in yeh, "a post," yeh, "the stock of a tree" (old yet, git), just as Accadian MU answers to Giš (=git) "tree," "wood"; or, finally, that shing, "dish," is seng, zăng in Amoy and Shanghai, so that we have the sequence shig, sig, zig, just as in Accadian we have SHI and ZI, "spirit," SANG and zang, "head," SIDI and ZIDA, "right."

III. What may perhaps be called a Law of the Correlation or Equivalence of Forms, which has played a great part in the evolution of words in both languages.

As an instance take the Chinese series :-

yen, "a night-watch," "a guard"; yen, ngan, ngé", "eye," "to see"; yen, im, yam, yé", "to flame," "brilliant"; yang, "to look up"; kin, "brilliance"; kin, "to see"; k'in, "to long for"; kien, "to see"; k'ien, "a firefly"; kan (Amoy), "to spy"; ch'ăn (din), "to glare at"; chăng (ding), "to burnish"; ch'en, also read tien, "to spy"; tien (tín), "to glance at"; ti, "to gaze at"; ts'e" (Shanghai), "to look at with awe"; ts'é" (Shanghai), "to spy"; ts'üen, "to clear," "explain; "tsing, "brightness"; tsing, "ghost"; shen, shan, shim, sé", "to glance at," "flash"; shi, "to be"; shing, "bright," "pure"; lin (lím), "to behold"; lien, "to discriminate"; lan, lam, lé", "to inspect"; mien, "to look towards"; min, "white alabaster"; ming, "bright"; ming, "to look at"; man, "a flat eye"; mang (mung), "dazzling," etc., etc.

And the Accadian :-

EN, "to watch," GAN, GIN, "to desire" (strictly, "to gaze at"), GAN, "to shine," GAN, "to see" (IGI-GAN), G'UN, "to look up," KIN, "to look for." KIN, "to watch" (KI-EN-NUN), KIN, "to desire" (KIN-GAD), TIN (DIN), "to see," TIN, "to want" (Až-TIN), DI, "to look

at," DI, "to want" (Aš-DI), (SHIN-DI), ZIN, "bright" (ZIM-B.R), ZI, "see," "live," SHIN, SHI, "see," "become," "be," SIN, "Dright," SI "bright" (SI-LAG), SHING, "bright," LIM, "eye," "see," LAM, "brightness" (ME-LAM), MAN, "sun," MEN, "pure," MUL (= MUN), "to shine," etc., etc. Other members of both series will readily occur. I conclude with:—

THE IDEOGRAM Y

The Shanghai $y\acute{e}$ -za suggests Azazel \dagger (Lev. xvi, 8), and points also to an initial g, as in the Accadian term. For the change from g to k, cp. the Accadian GI and KI, "fire." KIN, "dog," will be treated of at length in a future paper.

Errata.—The Chinese characters, tien, p. 404, middle, and hing, p. 411, fifth line, are not correctly given; but both will be easily identified.

^{*} The only other meaning assigned to the character *chai* or *chi* is "to discriminate"; which agrees perfectly with the Accadian DI, "to judge."

⁺ Cp. also the other name of the Chinese demon, shin-yang, "the spirit-goat."

SUR LES DYNASTIES DIVINES DE L'ANCIENNE ÉGYPTE.

PAR G. MASPERO.

L'origine, la constitution, et la répartition des dynasties divines qui, selon la tradition, avaient précédé les dynasties humaines en Égypte, ont fourni matière à hypothèses variées, de la part des savants qui se sont occupés de l'histoire et de la chronologie égyptiennes. Les dernières découvertes accomplies dans le domaine de la mythologie montrent que la solution proposée, il y a plus de trente ans, par Lepsius, dans son Mémoire sur le premier cycle des dieux Égyptiens, était vraie dans l'ensemble; elles m'obligent toutefois à modifier grandement le détail, et à proposer plusieurs explications nouvelles auxquelles Lepsius ne pouvait songer, faute d'avoir à sa disposition un nombre suffisant de documents.

Le Syncelle* nous a conservé, dans le tableau suivant, une version de l'histoire fabuleuse qu'on rencontrait chez Manéthon :—

"Sur les Égyptiens, en premier, règna Héphæstos. 724 ans 3

"Premiè	RE	Dy	ľNA	STI	E.			
" 2º Hêlios, fils d'Héphæsto	s							801
"3° Agathodémon								$56\frac{1}{2}$
"4º Kronos	٠							$40\frac{1}{2}$
"5° Osiris et Isis								
"6° Typhon								29."

Viennent ensuite des demi-dieux, au nombre de neuf, qui forment une seconde dynastie, dont le premier roi est Harsiîsit ${}^*\Omega\rho\sigma s$ ${}^*\eta u'\partial\epsilon\sigma s$, Horos le demi-dieu, fils d'Isis et d'Osiris. Je prefére cette rédaction aux autres, à cause d'un détail dont on ne me paraît pas avoir tenu un compte suffisant, bien qu'il ait une valeur extrême. Héphæstos n'y est pas confondu avec les dieux qui suivent ; il demeure en vedette, isolé au début de l'histoire, et la première dynastie ne commence qu'après lui, avec Hêlios, fils d'Héphæstos. Manéthon plaçait donc en tête de son livre un dieu hors cadre, Héphæstos, puis introduisait derrière lui une première dynastie de cinq dieux, et une

^{*} Dans Müller, Fragm. Hist. Græcorum de Didot, t. II, p. 530b-531a.

seconde de neuf demi-dieux. Je laisse les neuf demi-dieux de côté pour le moment et je m'occuperai d'abord des cinq dieux, et d'Héphæstos. Si je place leurs noms indigènes à côté de leurs noms hellénisés, j'obtiens la double liste que voici :—

1º Héphæstos	Phtah
Première D	YNASTIE.
2º Hêlios	$R\hat{a}$
3º Sosos-[Agathodémon]*	Shou-[Shai]
4º Kronos	Sibou
5° Osiris et Isis	Ouosiri, Osiri, et Isit
6º Typhon	Sit. Souti.

La mention d'Isis avec Osiris, dans le Syncelle, montre que les documents originaux plaçaient les déesses reines et mères à côté des dieux. Je les rétablirai chacune avec le dieu dont elle est l'épouse, et je compléterai ainsi la double liste :—

1 o	Héphæstos	Phtah
	Première	Dynastie.
2 0	Hêlios	$R\hat{a}$ -[$Atoumou$]
3°	Sôsos-[]	Shou-Tafnouit
4º	Kronos-[Rhéa]	Sibou-Nouit
5°	Osiris-Isis	Osiri-Isit
6º	Typhon-[Nephthys]	Sît-Nebthâit.

Si nous écartons Héphæstos, il nous reste pour le première dynastie, du côté égyptien, la *Grande Ennéade d'Héliopolis*, Râ-[Toumou],

* Le nom de Sôsos est introduit ici par les autres listes à la place de celui d'Agathodémon. Agathodémon est à proprement parler le dieu Kneph, le serpent joufflu qui pond l'œuf du monde, ou le serpent protecteur, la destinée Life qui pond l'œuf du monde, ou le serpent protecteur, la destinée Life qui pond l'œuf du monde, ou le serpent protecteur, la destinée lieu serpent le destinée l'introduire, me paraît être amenée, 1° par la présence de Eãos, dans la liste des rois demi-dicux que nous verrons plus tard : Manéthon, ou l'auteur qu'il suivait, aura voulu éviter ce double emploi du même nom divin; 2° par le désir d'introduire à une place relevée un dieu, Khnoumou, Kneph, qui commençait à jouer un grand rôle dans la pensée religieuse de l'Égypte ; 3° cette substitution a été favorisée par l'assonance suffisante du nom Shau-Sôsos, avec le nom Shai-Agathodémon. Je rétablis donc le nom de Shou-Sôsos à côté de celui d'Agathodémon-Shaï dans la liste, pour la plus grande clarté de l'exposition, et je conclus de la présence du nom d'Agathodémon, que la rédaction de notre liste que Syncelle nous a conservée ne saurait être antérieure au moment où le culte de Khnoumou-Kneph se développa, c'est-à-dire à la fin de l'époque persane.

Shou Tafnouit, Sibou-Nouit, Osiri-Isit, Sît-Nebthâit,* du côté grec, la traduction, Hêlios, du nom Égyptien de Râ et la forme hellénisée des noms des quatre dieux mâles qui entrent à la suite de Toumou dans la Grande Ennéade, Sôsos (Agathodémon), Kronos, Osiris, Typhon. J'en conclus que la première dynastie divine de Manéthon n'est autre que la Grande Ennéade d'Héliopolis, Osiris, mais à la condition d'expliquer pourquoi le premier membre de la dynastie ne s'appelle pas Toumou, comme le premier membre de l'Ennéade, et pourquoi Héphæstos-Phtah se trouve isolé en tête des dynasties.

Et de fait, le dieu féodal d'Héliopolis ne s'appelle pas Toumou primitivement; son nom réel est Râ, dont nous ne savons ni la signification, ni l'origine. Râ est pour le peuple le soleil matériel qui se lève chaque jour à l'Orient, Râ est le créateur qui a mis les éléments dans l'ordre où nous les voyons, Râ est enfin le plus ancien roi de l'Égypte. Manéthon et ses auteurs étaient donc parfaitement autorisés à dire que Râ était le chef de la première dynastie divine, Râ et non Toumou, Hêlios et non Tomos. Toumou est, avant tout, un dieu de théologien, né dans le sanctuaire. Le Soleil en effet, en tant que démiurge, n'avait pas une existence une et homogène. L'acte de la création partageait son existence en deux moments entièrement distincts : le moment passé où notre monde n'était pas encore et où lui-même se trouvait mêlé au chaos primordial, le moment présent où notre monde est et où lui-même nous éclaire de sa lumière sans cesse renaissante. Les fidèles ne séparaient pas très nettement ces deux époques de la vie du dieu; avant comme après la création, il était pour eux Râ et rien de plus. Mais les théologiens avaient été conduits par la réflexion à les distinguer par des noms différents. Le mot Râ était attaché de façon si indissoluble à l'idée du personnage lumineux dont le disque parcourt notre ciel, qu'ils le conservérent pour désigner la période ou la personne actuelle de leur divinité suprême. La période ou la personne antérieure à la création, dont le peuple ne se souciait guères, reçut d'eux un nom factice Toumou, Atoumou, qui paraît signifier soit le tout, la totalité, soit la création. Au Râ primitif de la religion courante correspondaient dans la théologie deux noms Atoumou et Râ, qu'on isolait parfois pour marquer la

^{*} C'est ainsi, en effet, que nous la donnent les monuments de toutes les époques, depuis les Pyramèdes (cf. Maspero, la Mythologie Égyptienne, p. 43 sqq.).

différence entre les deux moments de la vie du soleil auxquels ils répondaient, et que parfois on réunissait en une seule expression complexe Râ-toumou, Atoumou-râ, pour bien montrer qu'ils ne couvraient qu'un seul être. Si l'Ennéade avait été à Héliopolis une conception populaire, le nom de Râ y aurait figuré comme premier terme, et l'on aurait eu la série, Râ, Shou-Tafnouit, Sibou-Nouit, etc. Mais l'Ennéade était, comme j'ai eu souvent l'occasion de le dire, un système combiné par les théologiens d'Héliopolis afin d'expliquer la création et d'en préciser les instants successifs. Les prêtres y placérent naturellement au lieu de Râ leur Atoumou, et firent la série Atoumou, Shou-Tafnouit, Sibou-Nouit, etc. Ils n'avaient point du reste la prétention d'exiler Râ de l'Ennéade: ils l'y comprenaient tacitement sous Atoumou, et le second couple Shou-Tafnouit, conserva toujours chez eux le titre de SI ou SIT Râ, fils ou fille de Râ, quand même son père Atoumou le précéde immédiatement et que son père Râ n'est pas explicitement nommé. résumé leur cosmologie, telle qu'elle est résumée dans la Grande Ennéade, supposait qu'au début, "quand il n'y avait pas encore de ciel, qu'il n'y avait pas encore de terre, qu'il n'y avait pas encore d'hommes, que les dieux n'étaient pas encore nés, qu'il n'y avait pas encore de mort,"* Toumou était seul dans le Nou, l'Océan primordial. Au jour qu'il avait fixé pour la création, il sortit du lotus sous forme de disque lumineux et fut Râ. Au bout d'un certain temps, Shou arracha Nouit des bras de Sibou, la souleva pour en faire le ciel, et Râ montant sur elle commença à circuler autour de notre terre. nous mettons ce récit en tableau, nous avons une liste de noms.

Atoumou avant la création.

LA CRÉATION.

Râ.

Shou-Tafnouit.

Sibou-Nouit, etc.

qui répond comme disposition à celle des dynasties de Manéthon :— "Sur les Égyptiens, en premier, régna Hephæstos.

Première Dynastie. Hêlios, fils d'Héphæstos. Agathodémon (Sôsos). Kronos, etc.

^{*} Pyramide de Pepi I, l. 664, dans le Recueil, T. viii, pp. 103, 104. Toumou donne, dans ce passage, naissance à Pepi, qui est identifié à Râ.

et ne différe d'elle que par le nom du dieu antérieur, à la création d'une part, à la première dynastie de l'autre, Atoumou au lieu d'Héphæstos.

La raison de cette différence est connue de longue date. L'Ennéade héliopolitaine parut si ingénieuse et si complète aux colléges sacerdotaux des autres principautés égyptiennes, que la plupart d'entre eux l'adoptèrent entièrement depuis Atoumou jusqu'à Nephthys. Si nous prenons par exemple l'Ennéade thébaine, nous verrons qu'elle se compose de Montou que suivent *Toumou*, *Shou-Tafnouit*, *Sibou-Nouit*, etc.* On saisit, sans que j'aie besoin d'y insister, la façon dont les prêtres thébains ont procédé pour s'approprier l'Ennéade héliopolitaine. Ils ont profité de la personnalité double que la théologie prêtait au premier membre de l'Ennéade, Atoumou-Râ, pour mettre en tête, comme dieu primordial et comme démiurge, le dieu féodal de leur pays, Montou.† Montou fut donc dans le système thébain le dieu qui existait avant la création : Atoumou dégradé de ce rang suprême, n'y fut plus que l'équivalent de Râ, le soleil qui éclaire le monde après la création.‡ Nous avons

^{*} Voir les exemples que Lepsius en à réunis dans son mémoire Ueber den ersten Ægyptischen Götterkreis.

[†] Montou était le dieu féodal de toute la plaine thébaine: on le trouve souverain à Erment, à Taoud, à Médamot. Amon ne devait être au début que le dieu local du bourg insignifiant de Karnak, et ne prit son importance qu'à partir du moment où les dynasties thébaines régnèrent sur l'Égypte, encore ne réussit-il pas à chasser Montou de ses positions, et après la chûte de Thébes, vers l'epoque romaine, celui-ci reprit la situation prépondérante qu'il avait eu dans les commencements. La présence de Montou à la tête de l'Ennéade thébaine nous donne une date à minimâ pour l'introduction de l'Ennéade héliopolitaine dans cette région: elle se fit avant la XI° dynastie au plus tard, c'est-à-dire avant le moment où les évènements politiques assirent la suprématie thébaine sur l'Égypte. Amon ne me paraît d'ailleurs, comme Atoumou, être qu'un dieu de sanctuaire résultant d'une combination artificielle entre les deux divinités qui régnaient dans cette contrée, Mînou de Coptos et Montou.

[‡] Cette interversion était d'autant plus indiquée que Montou, maître d'Onou du midi, est le soleil matériel comme Râ, maître d'Onou du Nord. En adoptant la série Montou, Râ, Shou-Tafnouit, etc., ç'aurait donc été le même personnage solaire qu'on aurait eu sous les deux noms de Montou et de Râ, et le type du soleil antérieur à la création n'aurait pas été représenté dans la série. Au contraire, dans l'Ennéade Memphite, où le dieu local Phtah n'avait rien de solaire et n'était qu'un dieu terrestre, la théologie locale a respecté l'ordre admis à Héliopolis, et a mis après Phtah, Râ et non Atoumou: là, en effet, Phtah figure naturellement le dieu antérieur à la création, et il faut introduire dans la série l'équivalent du soleil matériel, en d'autres termes, Râ.

si peu des monuments à Memphis, que nous ne sommes guères renseignés sur la composition de l'Ennéade Memphite. Toutefois, en combinant quelques documents provenant d'autres localités, on en arrive à voir qu'elle était constituée de Phtah, père des dieux, de Râ, puis de *Shou-Tafnouit*, *Sibou-Nouit*, et des autres mêmes dieux que l'héliopolitaine. La cosmologie Memphite, mise en tableau, comprend donc:—

Phtah avant la création.

LA CRÉATION.

Râ.

Shou-Tafnouit, etc.

C'est exactement la donnée de Manéthon dans le Syncelle :-

"Sur les Egyptiens, en premier, règna Héphæstos.

PREMIÈRE DYNASTIE.

- " Hêlios, fils d'Héphæstos.
- " Agathodémon (Sosos), etc."

Le dieu hors cadre et les cinq rois de la première dynastie divine de Manéthon, ne sont autres que la variante Memphite de l'Ennéade héliopolitaine. J'en tirerai deux conclusions également importantes pour la critique de Manéthon et pour celle de l'histoire d'Égypte:—

- 1°. Le document dont Manéthon s'est servi pour établir l'histoire fabuleuse est un document memphite;
- 2°. L'histoire fabuleuse, à Memphis, à Thébes, et probablement dans toute l'Égypte, reposait sur une tradition théologique héliopolitaine, à peine modifiée au début par les exigences de la vanité locale.

Manéthon, ou plutôt les auteurs qui nous ont transmis ses fragments, ne nous ont rien conservé de l'histoire de ces dynastes divines. Les monuments égyptiens nous sont plus secourables, et nous ont rendu déjà plusieurs lambeaux de leurs chroniques fabuleuses. Les uns se rattachent de préférence à la version Memphite; ainsi, dans le morceau où on raconte comment Sibou termina la guerre entre Horus, fils d'Isis, et Typhon, en leur attribuant à l'un la Basse, à l'autre la Haute Égypte, et en fixant avec précision la limite de leurs domaines, Phtah semble être le dieu primordial qui a précédé tous les autres dieux et les a créés. D'autres, comme les fragments de la légende Osirienne, semblent nous être parvenus sous une forme originaire du Delta. Partout, le récit soi-disant historique qu'on nous fait des actions des dieux

n'est qu'un arrangement des phénomènes qu'on pensait avoir été accomplis par l'Ennéade aux divers instants de la création. Je me bornerai à citer à l'appui de cette opinion un seul de ces fragments, celui que Naville a publié et interprété le premier, et qui nous raconte la fin du règne de Râ, Hêlios.* L'univers sur lequel Râ exercait son autorité n'était que l'ébauche du nôtre; Shou n'y avait pas encore séparé Sibou de Nouit, et le ciel ne faisait qu'un avec la terre. Il y avait pourtant des plantes, des animaux, de véritables hommes dans ce premier essai de monde. L'Égypte s'y trouvait tout entière avec ses deux montagnes, son Nil, ses cités, le peuple de ses nomes, ses nomes eux-mêmes. Le dieu-roi résidait à Héliopolis, et le palais qu'il s'y construisit devint plus tard, sous le nom de Château du roi-Hâit Sarou,-un des sanctuaires les plus vénérés du pays. Lorsqu'il en ouvrait les portes et qu'il apparaissait sur le seuil, la lumière apparaissait avec lui et le jour se levait. Il sortait alors avec sa troupe de dieux et s'embarquait aux acclamations de la foule pour fournir sa course habituelle autour de la vallée. Les provinces recevaient tour à tour sa visite, et il séjournait une heure dans chacune d'elles pour régler en dernier ressort les affaires pendantes. Sa journée faite, il rentrait dans son palais, en fermait les portes sur lui et la nuit tombait aussitôt. Cependant la vieillesse arrivait et les infirmités avec elle ; le corps de Râ se courbait, " la "bouche lui grelottait, la bave lui ruisselait vers la terre, la salive lui "dégouttait sur le sol." † Le temps vint où les hommes eux-mêmes s'aperçurent de sa décrépitude, et tinrent des propos contre lui : "Voici Sa Majesté vieillit, ses os sont d'argent, ses chairs sont d'or, "ses cheveux sont de lapis-lazuli." Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de raconter en détail comment il convoqua le conseil des dieux dans Héliopolis, comment ceux-ci lui conseillèrent de châtier les hommes, comment Sokhit, la lionne, fut chargée de l'exécution du châtiment, ni comment Râ empêcha la déesse de détruire entièrement la race humaine. La partie du récit qui intéresse spécialement la question que je traite, commence à l'instant où Râ vainqueur, mais dégouté de sa propre victoire, songe à terminer son règne. Il veut se retirer du monde, mais ne sait où trouver un endroit où il soit à l'abri des hommes. Impuissant à rien créer de nouveau en tant que Râ, il s'adresse à sa forme primordiale, celle qui était dans l'eau primitive et

^{*} Naville, La destruction des hommes par les dieux, dans les Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaology, T. IV, p. 1-19, et T. VIII, p. 412-420.

[†] Pleyte et Rossi: Les Papyrus de Turin, pl. cxxxii, lignes I et 2.

qui se confond avec elle en son nom de Nou. Nou (Atoumou) se remet donc à l'œuvre et achève la création qu'il avait laissée imparfaite à l'avénement de Râ. La légende cosmogonique présentait la séparation du ciel et de la terre comme un acte de violence exercé par Shou sur Sibou et sur Nouit. L'histoire fabuleuse interpréta la légende et la traduisit de façon moins brutale. Shou y devint un fils vertueux qui consacra son temps et ses forces à porter Nouit pour rendre service à son père. Nouit de son côté est une enfant bien élevée qu'il n'est point nécessaire de rudoyer pour lui enseigner ses devoirs; elle consent de bonne grâce à quitter son mari pour mettre son aïeul Râ à l'abri de toute attaque. "La Majesté de Nou dit : "'Fils Shou, agis pour ton père Râ selon ses commandements, et toi, "fille Nouit, place-le sur ton dos, et tiens-le suspendu au-dessus de "la terre.' Nouit dit: 'Et comment cela, mon père Nou?' Ainsi "parla Nouit et elle fit ce que Nou lui ordonnait; elle se transforma "en vache et plaça la Majesté de Râ sur son dos. Quand ceux des "hommes qui n'avaient pas été tués vinrent rendre grâces à Râ, voici "qu'ils ne le trouvèrent plus dans son palais, mais une vache était "debout, et ils l'aperçurent sur le dos de la vache." Ils n'essayèrent pas de le faire revenir sur sa résolution, tant ils le virent décidé au départ ; du moins voulurent-ils lui donner une preuve de repentir qui leur assurât le pardon complet de leur crime. "Ils lui dirent: Attends "jusqu'à demain, ô Râ notre maître, et nous renverserons tes ennemis "qui ont tenu des propos contre toi." "Sa Majesté revint donc à "son château, descendit de la vache, entra avec eux, et la terre fut "plongée dans les ténébres. Mais quand la terre s'éclaira au matin "nouveau, les hommes sortirent avec leurs arcs et leurs flêches, et ils "commencèrent à tirer contre les ennemis. Sur quoi la Majesté de "ce dieu leur dit: 'Vos péchés vous sont remis, car le sacrifice "'écarte l'exécution du coupable.' Et ce fut l'origine des sacrifices "sanglants sur terre." C'est ainsi qu'au moment de se séparer pour toujours le dieu et les hoinmes s'entendirent pour régler les rapports qu'ils auraient à l'avenir. Les hommes offraient au dieu la vie de ceux qui l'avaient offensé. Le sacrifice humain était donc à leurs yeux le sacrifice obligatoire, le seul qui pût racheter les fautes commises contre la divinité; un homme seul avait qualité pour laver dans son sang les péchés des hommes. Le dieu consentit pour la première fois à accepter l'expiation telle qu'elle lui était présentée, puis la répugnance qu'il éprouvait à tuer ses enfants l'emporta: il substitua la bête à l'homme, et décida que le bœuf, la gazelle, les

oiseaux seraient désormais la matière du sacrifice. Ce point réglé, il remonte sur la vache. Celle-ci se lève, s'arcboute sur ses quatre jambes, comme sur autant de piliers; son ventre, allongé comme un plafond au-dessus de la terre, forme le ciel. Râ cependant s'occupe d'organiser le royaume nouveau qu'il découvre sur le dos de Nouit; il le peuple d'êtres nombreux, y choisit deux cantons pour lui-même, le Champ d'Asphodèle (ou des Féves)—Sokhit iarou—et le Champ de paix (ou des offrandes)—Sokhit hotpit—suspend les lampes qui doivent désormais éclairer les nuits, le tout avec force jeux de mots, destinés selon l'usage oriental à expliquer les noms que la légende assignait aux diverses parties du ciel. Tandis qu'il se livrait à ce passe-temps philologique, Nouit, transportée soudain à une hauteur inaccoutumée, prit peur et cria au secours vers Nou: "Donne-moi "par grâce des étais pour me soutenir!" Ce fut le commencement des dieux-étais, les dieux des quatre points cardinaux, ou plutôt des quatre maisons du monde. Ils vinrent se placer chacun auprès d'une des jambes de la vache qu'ils assurèrent de leurs mains et près de laquelle ils ne cessèrent plus de monter bonne garde. "Râ dit : ""Mon fils Shou, place-toi sous ma fille Nouit, et, veillant pour "moi sur ces étais-ci et sur ces étais-là qui sont dans le crépuscule, "aies la au-dessus de la tête et sois son pasteur." Shou obéit, vint se ranger sous le ventre de Nouit, les bras levés : la déesse reprit courage, et le monde, pourvu du ciel qui lui avait manqué jusqu'alors, reçut la forme que nous lui connaissons.

L'histoire de la première dynastie divine avait donc pour cadre les principaux faits de la cosmogonie, et ses membres étaient identiques aux membres de la Grande Ennéade d'Héliopolis. Si l'on passe à l'examen de la seconde dynastie, celle qui, d'après Manéthon, était composée de demi-dieux, on sera frappé d'y voir reparaître ce nombre neuf, caractéristique des doctrines héliopolitaines. La succession s'en présente comme il suit:—

7°	Horos, demi-dieu .				25	ans.
8°	Arês, demi-dieu .				23	,,
9°	Anoubis, demi-dieu				17	
10°	Heraclês, demi-dieu				15	
ΙI°	Apollo, demi-dieu .				25	
I 2°	Ammon, demi-dieu				30	
13°	Tithoês, demi-dieu .				27	
	Sôsos, demi-dieu .				32	
	Zeus, demi-dieu .					

Tous ces noms ne sont pas également faciles à identifier à des prototypes égyptiens. Je crois pourtant que la liste suivante est au moins vraisemblable:—

Horos Harsiîsit, Hor fils d'Isis.

Arês Anhouri, Onouris.

Anoubis Anoupou. Héraclès Khonsou.

Apollo Har-houditi, Hor d'Edfou.

Ammon Amon.

Tithoês Thouti, Thot.

Sôsos Shou. Zeus Amon-râ.

La distinction entre Horos et Apollo se retrouve au Papyrus royal de Turin, qui compte au moins deux Horou parmi les dynastes divins: qu'Apollo soit Har-houditi, la traduction Apollonopolis que les Grecs firent du nom de la ville d'Edfou ne permet aucun doute à cet égard. Tithoês me paraît cacher le nom de Thot et Héraclês celui de Khonsou; Zeus est Amonrâ de Thèbes. Ces répétitions Horou et Har-houditi, Amon et Amonrâ, ainsi que la réapparition de Shou, sont justifiées par le peu que nous savons des monuments égyptiens. La petite Ennéade thébaine, par exemple, renferme à Karnak deux Ouapouaitou.* La dynastie des demi-dieux est donc, elle aussi, dans cet extrait de Manéthon, une Ennéade, mais une Ennéade dont tous les membres sont des dieux non accouplés. Or le peu que nous savons de la seconde Ennéade héliopolitaine, la petite Ennéade, présente la même particularité. Les divinités dont elle se compose n'ont pas de mari ou de femme, ou s'ils une femme ou un mari l'absorbent pour ainsi dire en elles-mêmes et ne comptent à deux que pour un seul numéro. Je crois donc que le prototype de la deuxième dynastie divine de Manéthon était la seconde Ennéade héliopolitaine. Evidemment la liste qu'il en donne ne nous a pas conservé la composition première de cette petite Ennéade : des noms comme Amon et Khonsou ne peuvent y avoir été introduits qu'après la XIIe dynastie au plus tôt, et sont à eux seuls une preuve de remaniement. Comme la version de la première Ennéade que Manéthon adopte est la version Memphite, il me paraît au moins très probable, sinon entièrement certain, que sa liste de la seconde dynastie représente une version

^{*} Lepsius, Ueber den ersten Götterkreis, pl. II.

memphite de la petite Ennéade, celle ou une de celles qui avaient cours au début de l'époque grecque. Autant que j'en puis juger, les divinités comprises dans la petite Ennéade étaient celles qui, le monde une fois organisé et la vie mise en mouvement sur la terre, avaient été chargées plus spécialement de disposer l'Égypte et d'y régulariser la vie politique et sociale. Ainsi, le traité conclu entre le premier d'entre eux, Harsiîsit, et son oncle Sît, avait déterminé la division du pays en deux royaumes distincts, celui de la Haute et celui de la Basse Égypte; Thot avait présidé à la répartition en nomes et en cités, etc. Quoi que l'on pense de cette interprétation, on ne refusera pas, je crois, d'admettre, qu'ici encore, l'histoire fabuleuse de Manéthon a pour fondement la tradition héliopolitaine, plus ou moins modifiée par des éléments memphites.

Or la tradition héliopolitaine admettait trois Ennéades formant un total de vingt-sept dieux et déesses. Nous ne connaissons rien de la troisième Ennéade, et ce n'est que par conjecture que j'ai été tenté d'y ranger les dieux secondaires des morts, surtout les quatre enfants d'Horus. Manéthon de son côté admet, après les deux dynasties des dieux et des demi-dieux, une troisième dynastie de morts, Nékves, sur laquelle nous n'avons aucun renseignement. Néanmoins, étant donnée l'analogie des dynasties précédentes, je crois que celle-là aussi était une Ennéade, la troisième du système héliopolitain. Les sources Memphites auxquelles la version de Manéthon rapportée par le Syncelle aurait été puisée auraient donc renfermé un exposé de l'histoire primitive de l'Égypte, dérivé de la théologie des prêtres d'Héliopolis. La triple Ennéade, les vingt-sept dieux des Héliopolitains auraient fourni trois dynasties, correspondant chacune à une des Ennéades. Ce qui jusqu'à présent a empêché de reconnaître et d'apprécier ce fait, c'est le peu d'attention que les Égyptologues, Lepsius excepté, ont prêté aux Ennéades, et la façon inexacte dont ils les ont interprétées. La présence du dieu hors cadre, la suppression des divinités femelles, l'altération de certains noms, étaient autant d'obstacles à l'interprétation rigoureuse de la première dynastie divine; le peu de documents qu'on avait sur la seconde Ennéade, et l'oubli dans lequel on laissait la troisième s'opposaient à ce qu'on songeât à les rapprocher des deux dynasties suivantes. La démonstration que j'ai essayé de donner n'est pas complète; j'espère qu'elle le deviendra, à mesure que les monuments égyptiens nous rendront

des renseignements nouveaux sur la composition et sur la nature des deux dernières Ennéades.

Je n'ai examiné jusqu'à présent que la version de Manéthon que le Syncelle nous a conservée. La version qu'Eusèbe nous en donne est assez différente.* Elle règle comme il suit la succession de la première dynasties:

Vulcanus	Рнтан
Sol	Râ
[Agathodæmon]	[Shou]
Saturnus	Sibou
Osiris	Osiri
Typhon	Sît
Horus, Osiridis et Isidis filius	Harsiîsit.

Horus fils d'Isis est, comme on voit, détaché des demi-dieux et réuni aux dieux pour terminer la première dynastie. Cette manière d'entendre les choses est conforme à une des traditions égyptiennes. Lepsius avait déjà marqué, dans son mémoire Sur le premier cycle des dieux, que, dans bien des cas, l'Ennéade ne se termine pas sur le nom de Sît; Harsiîsit y est ajouté, lui et son double femelle Hathor, si bien que le système comprend un couple de plus qu'à l'origine. Il a fort bien expliqué le motif de cet élargissement, par l'horreur toujours croissante que les Égyptiens conçurent contre Sît. à mesure que le mythe Osirien se répandait par tout le pays. L'adjonction d'Horus, fils d'Isis, souffrait d'autant moins de difficulté que ce dieu n'avait pas réussi à détrôner complètement Sît, au moins dans la plupart des formes de la légende; il avait seulement partagé l'Égypte avec lui et régné sur le Delta, tandis que Sit continuait à règner sur le Saïd, si bien qu'au point de vue chronologique, les deux règnes se trouvaient en partie au moins sur une même ligne de temps. La version d'Eusèbe est donc légitime, et on ne doit pas essayer, soit de la corriger pour l'adapter à celle du Syncelle, soit, comme on a fait le plus souvent, de corriger la version du Syncelle pour l'adapter à celle d'Eusèbe. Il faut les tenir toutes les deux pour correctes et admettre qu'elles se trouvaient, l'une et l'autre, dans Manéthon. Manéthon aurait donné, dans son premier livre, deux versions de l'histoire fabuleuse, toutes deux de provenance Memphite, comme le prouve la persistance de Phtah au début, mais répondant chacune à une variante de l'Ennéade. L'une, celle qui

^{*} Müller, Fragm. Hist. Græc., edit. Didot, T. II, p. 526 sqq.

nous est parvenue par le Syncelle, prenait l'Ennéade héliopolitaine non developpée, et, par conséquent, arrêtait la première dynastie divine à Typhon. L'autre, qu'Eusèbe nous a transmise, acceptait une forme développée de l'Ennéade héliopolitaine où le couple Harsiîsit-Hâthor était adjoint aux quatre couples primitifs, et faisait passer cet Horos de la dynastie des demi-dieux à celle des dieux. Comme c'était, somme toute, la première Ennéade qui faisait les frais de cette première dynastie, je ne doute nullement que les deux autres Ennéades ne servissent, comme dans la version précédente, de base au système des deux dynasties de héros et de mânes qu'Eusèbe donne après la dynastie des dieux. Eiles avaient dû, elles aussi, subir des remaniements qui compensaient la perte qu'elles avaient faite en la personne d'Harsiîsit. Ces changements avaient eu leur contre-coup dans l'ordonnance des dynasties, car Eusèbe nous signale pour celle des Héros l'intervention assez obscure de familles thébaines et thinites. Toutefois, en l'absence complète de documents certains, il m'est impossible de dire en quoi consistaient ces changements, et quelles différences la liste qu'Eusèbe nous a conservée en partie présentait avec celle que la Syncelle nous a transmise. Les divergences n'ont rien qui étonne en pareille matière, et les Égyptiens devaient avoir bien d'autres façons de se figurer leur histoire fabuleuse. Les débris du Papyrus de Turin en ont une, qui ne coincide avec aucune des deux rédactions de Manéthon. Ils nous donnent d'une seule venue :---

Nouit

(Osiris). Le roi des deux Égyptes Rîsiri

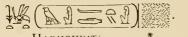
LE ROI DES DEUX ÉGYPTES SÎT.

LES DIEUX, 300 ANS.

THE COUNTRY OF THE ROLL DES DEUX

ÉGYPTES THOUTI, 3226 ANS.





DEUX ÉGYPTES LE ROI DES

HARHOUDITI

après quoi le texte manque, mais il reste encore à la ligne suivante des traces d'encre rouge qui montrent, qu'après le nom d'Horos d'Edfou, le rédacteur du papyrus notait un changement de dynastie. Il arrêtait la première dynastie après Horos d'Edfou, ce qui nous force à admettre qu'il avait pris pour son histoire fabuleuse une Ennéade comprenant outre Harsiîsit, les dieux Thouti, Mâit, et Harhouditi. Je ne connais pas encore cette Ennéade, mais Lepsius cite des Ennéades analogues, celle du Grand Temple de Karnak, qui, après Nephthys, ajoute Harsiîsit-Hâthor, Sobkou et les deux déesses Taninit, Anit, ou celle du temple de Dendérah, où le couple Sît-Nebthâit est remplacé par le couple Hor-Nebthâit, après quoi viennent Harhouditi-Hâthor, Taninit, Anit, et Thouti. La présence d'une déesse Maît parmi ces rois était légitime, et un fragment de la seconde colonne du même Canon de Turin semble dire qu'on comptait sept femmes, ou plutôt sept reines, parmi les Pharaons des diverses dynasties divines.

l'aurais dû peut-être donner plus de développement à ce mémoire : j'ai préféré ne pas abuser de la patience du lecteur pour l'entretenir d'un sujet après tout très ingrat. Il me suffit d'avoir indiqué sommairement la façon dont les Égyptiens concevaient, je crois, l'exposition des parties primitives de leur histoire, et les sources auxquelles leurs écrivains nationaux, Manéthon y compris, avaient puisé, lorsqu'ils avaient voulu en établir solidement le cadre.

Paris, le 2 Février 1890.

* Les chiffres qui manquent aujourd'hui ont été encore vus par Champollionle-Jeune; le nom de Houditi a été restauré depuis longtemps, par Lepsius, si je ne me trompe.

NOTES DE PHILOLOGIE EGYPTIENNE.

By KARL PIEHL.

(Suite.*)

Le sens s'élever, se lever, monter, qui selon M. V. LORET dérive directement du sens radical "se gonfler," n'a pas plus de réalité que ce dernier. Parmi les exemples qui ont été invoqués en faveur de ce sens secondaire, l'auteur énumère un grand nombre, où il traduit par élever, c'est-à-dire dans une acception transitive. Mais il est hors de propos de partir de "s'élever (se lever, monter)," pour arriver à "élever." Le sens contraire est le seul qui soit appuyé par la saine méthode. Car c'est par ellipse que les verbes transitifs deviennent intransitifs, comme nous pouvons regarder élever par rapport à monter. Le sens élever doit d'ailleurs être remplacé par celui de "enlever," dans la plupart des cas où ce premier a été appliquée à ", par exemple dans le passage suivant, emprunté à la stèle des mines d'or:—

"il a enlevé de l'eau des montagnes.".

Quelquefois, le sens élever devrait se changer en "creuser,' comme pour le bout de texte que voici:—

éleva un tombeau dans la nécropole," mais plutôt "le creuseur (!) de tombeau dans la nécropole."

L'expression qui se voit entre autre au Papyrus Harris No. 1, ne signifie pas "élever les travaux," mais "accomplir (litt.: trancher ou peut-être écarter) les travaux."

Lorsqu'il est dit du roi Apépi, qu'il Qu'il Qu'il Qu'il Qu'il Qu'il Qu'il Qu'il eleva, mais plutôt qu'il "choisit Sutech pour son maître." (Cfr. le grec aipeîo 9aı, "enlever

^{*} Continued from Proceedings, Vol. XII, p. 379.

pour soi-même," c'est-à-dire, "choisir, élire.") Plusieurs autres cas où le sens "élever" se voit employé, admettent celui de "choisir, élire."

La stèle du qui se trouve au musée de Turin, contient l'expression que voici:—

abaissé le grand et élevé le petit," mais plutôt: "J'ai respecté le grand et protégé le petit." (Pour la transition de sens qui ici a été admise quant au mot , comparez le groupe hiéroglyphique , qui d'abord signifie "enlever," puis "protéger, sauver.")

La légende qui accompagne une scène de lutte, a été transcrite shed oud ki àm sen tehen par M. V. Loret, qui nous présente à cette occasion la traduction que voici: "l'un deux relève l'autre qui est tombé." Le mot tehen par ", "tomber," n'a pas été trouvé ailleurs dans les textes anciens. It doit être remplacé par ", "ceux qui sont avec" [pour un autre exemple de ", voir Brugsch, Gräberwelt, No. 55 b]. Je propose avec réserve la traduction suivante : "L'un écarte l'autre parmi les combattants," tout en supposant qu'un ma été sauté entre let "."

Le passage du Papyrus Sallier No. 1 (Pl. III, l. 6) où notre auteur a cru trouver antithèse entre et et et et couché" et "se lever"!) ne doit point se transcrire, comme il l'a fait. Pour une autre transcription, voir Maspero, Du genre épistolaire, p. 74.

Égyptiennes, I, 183) signifie "Ce ne sont pas les lamentations qui délivrent un homme du tombeau." La même signification "délivrer" convient au mot du passage CXXV, 52, du Todtenbuch.

Les autres exemples, cités en faveur du sens s'élever, se lever, monter du groupe , sont incertains ou inexactes et ne demandent point d'examen ici.

Le sens "élever une charge de blé sur le dos d'un âne," que M. V. Loret propose pour de l'époque des pyramides, se remplace mieux par "enlever sur le dos d'un âne, transporter." Le déterminatif nous fait du reste voir le fardeau, reposant sur le dos de l'animal en question.

L'expression (Chabas, Hymne à Osiris, l. 14) ne signifie pas "élever la voix," mais plutôt "être incisif de voix."

, "momie, cadavre," s'il ne provient d'une erreur, date sans doute des basses époques, lorsque pouvait remplacer.

Le passage VIII, 4 du Papyrus d'Orbiney qui a la teneur suivante:

suivante:

se traduit en général à peu près: "Je vais extraire mon cœur et le mettre au sommet de la fleur du cèdre," et je ne vois pas pourquoi il faudrait rendre de ce passage par "prononcer une conjuration," l'expression ""extraire le cœur" étant consacrée par l'usage. Les caprices des scribes expliquent suffisemment ce qu'il y aurait d'insolite dans l'emploi de ja au lieu de le, comme déterminatif du mot du passage en question.

Le sens radical "se gonfler" qu'attribue à tort M. LORET au groupe , ne lui permet pas de passer à celui de creuser qui est indiscutable pour ." Et notre étymologue ajoute comme preuve convaincante en faveur de l'impossibilité de cette transition de sens, qu'il lui "paraît difficile, à moins d'admettre ia théorie des deux sens exactement contraires, de rattacher le sens creuser au sens radical gonfler, élever de la racine . (Comme on voit, c'est quelquefois se gonfler, quelquefois gonfler qui par M. V. LORET est designé comme le sens primordial du groupe en litige.)

À propos de "la théorie des deux sens exactement contraires," on est autorisé à questionner si elle est de trop, quand il faut expliquer le sens, soit affirmatif, soit négatif dont sont susceptibles les mots français "personne," "jamais," "pas," "plus," ou les

vocables égyptiens, Jo ("ne—pas;" "endroit"), ("ne—pas;" "tout," "complet"), etc. Bien entendu, je ne suis point partisan des théories de M. Abel, sur le Gegensinn, théories qui d'ailleurs viennent d'être refutées tant de la part d'égyptologues que d'indogermanistes. Mais vouloir en toute sécurité avancer qu'aucun not ne peut avoir deux sens diamétralement opposés, c'est méconnaître l'influence de la *phrase*, de la *proposition*, dans laquelle et par laquelle les mots vivent; car un mot détaché n'est qu'une préparation linguistique.

Pour en revenir au mot creuser, M. V. Loret, en se reconnaissant hors d'état de lui fournir une place dans la série des dérivés de la racine condamne par là même son étude sur la racine en question. Je ne perdrai pas plus de temps par l'éxamen ultérieur de la dite étude dont les resultats, dans les points où ils sont nouveaux, n'offrent que bien peu de données acceptables.

* * * *

Quant à la liste que, pour ma part, je voudrais dresser des formes principales dérivant du radical , il faut reconnaître qu'essentiellement et à quelques légères modifications près, cette liste repose sur les données de Brugsch, qui comme sens radical du groupe offre celui de spalten, schneiden, abschneiden (Wörterbuch, VII, 1213). Voici donc comment je crois devoir dresser la dite liste:—

(peau d'animal) syllabique qui pendant la bonne époque hiéroglyphique équivaut à la combinaison de son . [La notion peau signifie ici litteralement "ce que l'on obtient en écorchant un animal." Comparez 5&T, exceriare.]

racine ou radical = séparer, détacher, trancher, enlever.

- et varr., "séparer," "arracher," "couper," "extraire," "enlever." "wwt, amputare, exscindere.
 - 2. et varr., "séparer d'un danger," "délivrer," "sauver."
- 3. et varr., "séparer en faveur de quelqu'un," "choisir," "élire," "exiger." (Pour cette dernière transition de sens, cfr. par exemple allem. "Wahl" à côté de "Wille.") wwt, indigere, carcre.

- 4. var. [], etc., "séparer, écarter avec la houe," trancher" (="enlever la peau de la terre!"), "faire une tranchée," "creuser." ωωτ, π, *Incisio*. ωωτε, ωωτ, *Puteus*, *Fovea*.
- 5. \bigcirc et varr., "séparer du sein," "sevrer " (lat. separare.'), "élever," "nourri," "engraisser." \bigcirc \bigcirc , "nourri," "engraissé." \bigcirc \bigcirc \bigcirc , pinguis.
- 6. et varr., "séparer, écarter les mots de la parole," "lire," "réciter." (Cfr. légo, $\lambda \epsilon' \gamma \epsilon u v$, lesa, lesa, mots qui tous originairement signifient "cueillir," "prendre à part," "séparer," "choisir.")
 - 7. et varr., "enlever sur le dos d'un âne," "transporter."
- 8. et varr., "trancher," "exécuter," "résoudre," "ac. complir:"

Je n'énumérerai pas les substantifs qui se groupent sous les divers dérivés de la racine . Je n'examinerai pas non plus la relation qu'il peut y avoir entre elle et les groupes . , etc. Mon but, cette fois, a été de montrer les faits principaux qui s'attachent au développement de sens de la dite racine, et je serais content, si les confrères sont d'avis que j'ai bien fait de défendre l'acception qu'a soutenue Brugsch à l'égard du vocable . Let varr.

17. Dans ses Notes on Egyptian Texts of the Middle Kingdom,*
M. F. L. Griffith a énoncé plus d'une observation pénétrante.

Ayant dernièrement visité la grotte de Chnumhotep de Beni-Hassan, j'ai eu l'occasion d'en vérifier en partie les textes, ce qui me porte à m'écarter sur un petit point de l'avis du dit savant. C'est concernant la ligne 12, où se lit le groupe

^{*} Proceedings, Mars, 1890, page 263, et suiv.

Le signe initial du mot *ubut*,† qui souvent varie de forme, a ici été tracé de la manière que voici . Il est bon de noter à cet égard, que, si nous exceptons la ligne 213, où se rencontre le même signe sous presque la même forme, l'hiéroglyphe qui se transcrit *ub* ne se voit d'ailleurs nulle part aux textes de Chnumhotep. Par ceci, je retracte formellement la conjecture que, me fondant sur la mauvaise copie de Reinisch, j'avais cru devoir proposer dans la *Zeitschrift*, 1887, page 35.

À la même occasion je ferai observer que la ligne 52 de notre inscription contient ceci: $\frac{x}{2}$ $\frac{x}{$

† MAX MÜLLER, dans le Recueil, Vieweg, IX, a fort bien examiné la valeur phonétique du signe \mathring{L}^2 .



SUR DIFFÉRENTS MOTS ET NOMS ÉGYPTIENS.

PAR PROF. E. LEFÉBURE.

LE NOM D'OSIRIS.

I.

Dans le Numéro des *Proceedings* publié en Décembre 1889, M. Piehl a, sans le savoir, appuyé de son autorité une étymologie du nom d'Osiris qui avait déjà été proposée avec quelque développement; le nom du dieu signifierait "le siège de l'œil (sacré, le

¹ Le Mythe Osirien, II, p. 129. 1s. soleil)," [...

² Le Page Renouf, *Proceedings*, Avril, 1890, p. 343; cf. Maspero, Mélanges d'Archéologie, 6e Livraison, p. 213.

³ Stèle C, 3 du Louvre.

⁴ Livre de l'Hemisphère inférieur, 7e heure, 2e registre.

⁵ Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, 7^e division, 1^{er} registre.

⁶ Lepsius, Aelteste Texte, 29.

⁷ Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, 8e division, 3e registre.

⁸ Id., 7e division, passim; cf. Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms propres hiéro-glyphiques, Nos. 1212 et 228.

⁹ Recueil de Travaux, X, p. 28.

¹⁰ Sharpe et Bonomi, The Alabaster Sarcophagus of Oimeneptah I, 8, c; cf. Tombeau de Séti I et Tombeau de Ramsès IV; Pierret, Études égyptologiques, 1. VIII, p. 130; cf. Golénischeff, Recueil de Travaux, t. X, p. 96.

M. Piehl pense qu'Osiris a d'abord été le ciel, mais il ne peut guère s'agir ici que du ciel infernal, puisqu'Osiris était par excellence le roi du monde infernal.

D'après une conception qui paraît avoir été très répandue, l'empire osirien était situé dans la terre, l' par opposition au monde des vivants qui était sur la terre. C'est pourquoi on nommait Osiris le Khent-Ament, en le figurant parfois comme tel enfoncé dans la terre jusqu'au cou: de même la grande âme (le soleil nocturne, le Ra Ker-ti de la Litanie solaire) entrait à son coucher dans la terre, qu'on lui ouvrait, et en sortait à son lever:

Comme région souterraine, l'enfer avait son ciel— Solemque suum, sua sidera norunt.

¹ Cf. Plutarque, de Iside et Osiride, 61 et 78.

² Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, 1º heure.

³ Tombeau de Ramsès VI, second corridor, paroi droite, ll. 10, 26, 60, 87, etc.

⁴ Naville, Todtenbuch, II, ch. 68.

⁵ Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, 7e heure.

⁶ Cf. Naville, Todtenbuch, II, 172 et 174; et Lepsius, Todtenbuch, ch. 79.

⁷ Cf. Champollion, Notices, I, p. 559; et Portes des Tombes royales.

confondu,

II.

Mais l'expression d'espace convient mieux que celle de cicl pour désigner le monde infernal qui, dans la conception dont il s'agit, correspondait à l'eau sur laquelle voguaient les astres, à l'obscurité qui les cachait, et à la terre qui les entourait.

L'eau, c'est la déesse Nut renversée, , océan répandu aussi bien dans le ciel d'en bas que dans le ciel d'en haut, ovo , et séjour éternel des maîtres de l'enfer, , et s'est aussi le bassin de Ma ou la coudée de Ma qu'on représentait, l'un sous la montagne de l'horizon, et l'autre sous le trône d'Osiris; l'obscurité, c'est le crocodile qui avale et rejette le soleil, figuré tantôt sous la forme du bélier, tantôt sous la forme de l'œil, et ou bien c'est l'une des variantes du crocodile, le serpent qui vonit ce qu'il a mangé, d'après le Todtenbuch, le taureau qui a avalé l'œil, d'après l'Ap-ro, letc.; la terre, c'est l'Osiris végétant du Livre de l'Hadès, le aussi bien que l'Osiris du même Livre entourant l'enfer de son corps, et recevant le soleil ou le transmettant au ciel-Nut debout sur sa tête.

- ¹ Champollion, Notices, II, 299.
- ² Livre I, ch. 11; cf. Plutarque, de Iside et Osiride, 44.
- ³ Cf. Denkmaeler, III, 271.
- 4 Recueil de Travaux, VII, p. 150; J. de Rougé, Edfou, II, 149; etc.
- ⁵ Denkmaeler, III, 150.
- ⁶ Mariette, Abydos, I, p. 20.
- ⁷ Champollion, Notices I, p. 559; cf. Naville, Todtenbuch, II, 47.
- 8 Tombeau de Tauser, 3e salle, paroi d'entrée, côte droit.
- 9 Tombeau de Ramsès VII, salle paroi gauche; et Tombeau de Ramses IX. 3e salle, paroi droite; cf. Champollion, Notices, II, p. 525.
 - 10 Ch. 108, l. 5.
 - ¹¹ Tombeau de Séti I, l. 77 et 78; cf. Litanie du Soleil, 1ère scène.
- ¹² Cf. Pierret, Le Dogme de la Résurrection; et Dünnichen, Zeitschrift, 1882, p. 92.
 - 13 Dernière scène; cf. Champollion, Notices, II, p. 541, 511, etc.

Ces différents aspects du monde infernal expliquent pourquoi Osiris a pu être appelé eau, Nun et Nil, ou Saurien, ou Tanen, ou taureau de l'Ouest.

Si Osiris a été l'espace souterrain, c'est-à-dire ce que les textes appellent le sanctuaire de l'wil du soleil couchant, la momie que Ra traversait la nuit, le contour de l'enfer, le coffre de l'œil, la crypte de l'Ut'a 4 (comme ce puits des Scandinaves dans lequel Odin cachait son œil), il est inutile de supposer que le même dieu a été le ciel supérieur, car cette hypothèse ne ressort pas des textes aujourd'hui connus; elle n'est acceptable qu'en ce qui concerne Isis. Quant à Osiris, il a un caractère foncièrement infernal, comme le montrent bien les métamorphoses par lesquelles son symbolisme a passé: en effet le dieu osirien a été non seulement l'enfer, mais encore l'habitant de l'enfer, (et), comme l'Hadès grec, et en sa qualité de personnage infernal, c'est-à-dire mort, il en est venu à personnifier plus ou moins complètement tout ce qui meurt ou semble mourir dans la nature, c'est-à-dire, l'homme, la végétation, le Nil, la lune, et même le soleil.

III.

On confond souvent Osiris avec le soleil, bien que l'identification des deux divinités n'ait jamais pu être entière: il y a eu à la fois, entre leurs mythes, pénétration et conflit, ce qui a produit d'ailleurs de curieux effets, suivant que l'un ou l'autre dieu tendait à absorber son rival. Ainsi, la barque dans laquelle Osiris emmenait les âmes par la Fente de l'ouest, à Abydos (d'où peut-être la légende du mont des oiseaux), finit par s'appeler la barque de Ra, 5 et par contre, à Mendès, on enseignait qu'Osiris fondu avec Ra était l'âme de Ra en deux personnes. 6

¹ Ronomi et Sharpe. The Alabaster Sarcophagus, etc., 6, B.

² Tombeau de Ramsès IX, 3^e salle, paroi droite.

³ Tombeau de Ramsès VII, salle, paroi droite.

⁴ Litanie du Soleil, 24e invocation.

⁵ Mariette, Abydos, IV, 74, b.

⁶ Todtenbuch, ch. 17, ll. 42-45; cf. J. de Rougé, Edfou, I, 64, et II, 147.

Mais les deux mythes se touchaient par leur côté nocturne et non par leur côté diurne : on se serait mal figuré Osiris éclairant les vivants en plein jour ou Ra jugeant les morts en plein jour. Aussi le rôle solaire d'Osiris ne fut-il qu'un aboutissant extrême, comme il est arrivé chez les Grecs lorsque Bacchus se confondit avec le soleil dans les doctrines orphiques :

Eis Zeis, eis 'Aicηs, eis "Ηλιος, eis Διόνυσος.

C'est généralement aux dernières périodes de l'évolution religieuse que le soleil, emblème régulier, visible et concret, peut réussir à supplanter les autres dieux, comme l'a remarqué M. Duruy dans son Histoire des Romains.¹ On observera ici qu'Osiris, en particulier, est nettement distingué du soleil dans les livres thébains qui décrivent le cours du soleil en enfer, c'est-à-dire au pays d'Osiris, et l'indépendance de son mythe est confirmée par les recherches théologiqu'es de Ramsès IV, qui, dans un texte d'Abydos étudié par M. Piehl,² dit formellement qu'Osiris est le Nil, la lune, et le roi de l'enfer en réalité,

IV.

L'idée d'espace s'accentua surtout avec Isis, analogue à Déméter suivant Hérodote, 3 et à Proserpine, à la terre ou à l'eau selon Plutarque; 4 cette déesse était la mère par excellence, ou Thermutis, 5 car les Égyptiens personnifiaient volontiers comme mère toute residence divine, que ce fût même une barque ou un temple; il y avait des divinités nommées of, ce qui rappelle très exactement un des titres d'Isis Thermutis of, 6 (et peut-être aussi de la déesse-

 $^{^1}$ Cf. de Rougé, Notice sommaire des Monuments égyptiens du Louvre, $4^{\rm e}$ édition, p. 104; et Réville, Religions des peuples non civilisés, I, p. 175.

² Zeitschrift, 1884, p. 38. ³ II, 59.

⁴ De Iside et Osiride, 27, 32, 34, etc. ⁵ Id., 54 et 56. ⁶ Wilkinson, Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, édition Birch, T. III, p. 107.

ciel dans une phrase, discutée par M. Piehl, qui paraît autoriser le transport des momies à la face du ciel hand a la face du ciel hand a la mère le ciel, grand espace).

Toutefois Isis n'a pas personnifié seulement le type infernal, comme Osiris; en sa qualité d'espace et de mère, elle a pu être autant céleste que souterraine, le mot $\int \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt \, dt \, dt$ s'appliquant au ciel comme à l'enfer, puisqu'on disait Ptah $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt \, dt$ et $\int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} dt \, dt$

¹ Transactions, Décembre 1889, et Mars 1890.

² Cf. Brugsch, Zeitschrift, 1884, p. 22; et Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, II, p. 186.

³ Papyrus Abbott, p. 4, l. 11, 12, et 15; cf. Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, III, p. 110.

⁴ Tombeau de Ramsès VI; Première petite salle, paroi droite, 1. 77.

⁵ Denkmaeler, III, 93 et 114; Recueil de Travaux, III, p. 115, et IX, p. 59; etc.

⁶ Denkmaeler, III, 106, l. 6 et 172; cf. Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, II, o. 164.

⁷ Ludwig Stern, Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 120.

⁸ J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 30; cf. Mariette, Musée de Boulaq, 3° édition, pp. 97 et 98.

⁹ Mariette, Abydos, t. III, p. 416.

¹⁰ Champollion, Notices, p. 905.

à-dire, le parèdre de la divinité d'en haut et de celle d'en bas. M. Le Page Renouf¹ voit même dans Isis l'aurore, qui semble siéger ou trôner sur l'horizon. Ce symbolisme, qui paraît bien certain, s'est développé surtout dans le mythe de la déesse Hathor, qui dédoublait Isis, la la résidence d'Horus, le dieu céleste, dont Isis était la mère.

Hathor, la Vénus égyptienne, avait son âme³ et surtout sa face dans le disque solaire; la nuit, cette face traversait l'enfer, sous la forme d'un sistre voilé;⁴ le matin, ramenée au soleil (cf. Iusas, celle qui vient et grandit), elle apparaissait dans l'astre,⁵ "disque de l'horizon à l'horizon, globe dans le ciel, couleur éclatante sous la forme des yeux de Ra,"6 etc., d'où sans doute sa grande fête de Dendérah le premier jour de l'année,¹ et sa qualification d'Hathor en Ra le premier Athyr.8

Le type d'Hathor et d'Isis, malgré tous les remaniements qu'il a dû subir, se ramène toujours à ceci que les deux déesses, comme les vaches védiques, personnifiaient le ciel et la lumière ou l'ombre qui s'y succédent sous tous leurs aspects, humides, nuageux crépusculaires, auroraux, diurnes, nocturnes et infernaux. C'est ainsi que Hathor, grande en haut et puissante en bas, chthonienne et céleste, put être d'une part la vache tachetée qui réside dans l'enfer où elle reçoit la momie, puis d'autre part le feu du ciel la chaleur torride qui desséche les Égyptiens à la canicule, d'après la légende de la Destruction des hommes (si semblable à celle du message d'Istar et une ancienne fable américaine).

Hathor et sa variante Isis ont de la sorte un caractère céleste qui s'est manifesté sous une foule de formes, depuis celle du disque à

¹ Transactions, Avril, 1890, p. 346.

² Lieblein, N° 518; cf. Plutarque, de Iside et Osiride, 56; J. de Rougé, Edfou, II, 114; Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, II, p. 112; Pierret, Études égyptologiques, I, 84 et 94; etc.

³ Denderah, I, 37, c.

⁴ Livre de l'Hémisphère inférieur, 3° heure, 2° registre ; cf. Denderah, III, 78, n.

⁵ Sharpe et Bonomi, 11, B; Champollion, Notices, II, pp. 534, 603, et 299.

⁶ Mariette, Dendérah, III, 50, K.

⁷ Mariette, Dendérah, Description générale, p. 101.

⁸ Calendrier Sallier.

⁹ Id., I, 25, l. 14, et c; cf. Champollion, Notices, I, 68.

tête de femme qui éclairait le monde, jusqu'à celle du sistre à masque hathorien ou isiaque qui chassait Typhon, et se nommait seshesh, , à peu près comme le bucrâne sesh, , l'épouvantail.

En résumé, les mythes d'Isis et d'Osiris à dater au moins de la fixation des deux noms, seraient partis de l'idée d'espace, et probablement d'espace souterrain. Dominé par cette conception, Osiris aurait été surtout l'enfer, le dieu de l'enfer, et le mort par excellence; Isis, mère en sa qualité d'espace souterrain, serait devenue par là le firmament qui enfante le soleil et la lumière qui remplit le firmament. Le texte des *Denkmaeler*¹ qui dit d'Isis qu'elle est la maîtresse du ciel et que son mari est le maître de l'enfer, exprime bien l'écart final des deux symbolismes.

LE Nom du Frère de Ramsès II.

Ī.

M. Wiedemann ² hésite, non sans raison, à lire avec certitude le nom du premier fils de Séti I, nom qui ne se trouve qu'une fois, dans une scène où il est martelé et où il n'en subsiste qu'un signe.³

Peut-être sera-t-il possible de proposer ici une nouvelle lecture, en reprenant les choses d'un peu haut pour la motiver mieux.

On remarquera d'abord que le prince a été dépossédé de ses droits au trône, la transmission du pouvoir n'étant pas plus régulière en Égypte que dans le reste de l'Orient, comme le montrent l'histoire d'Hatshepsu et celle des fils de Ramsès III.

Le personnage dont il s'agit était un aîné qui fut sacrifié d'une façon quelconque à son plus jeune frère Ramsès II. En effet, dans les tableaux de Karnak où il est représenté deux fois (il ne figure pas ailleurs), son nom et son portrait ont été martelés, d'une part ; d'autre part, comme l'a montré M. Wiedemann, il avait les titres d'un héritier présomptif, de et de l'après et d'un héritier présomptif, de et d'un héritier présomptif, de et d'un héritier présomptif, d'après et d'une d'Ethiopie, d'après

¹ IV, 6, b.

² Proceedings, Mars, 1890, p. 258-261.

³ Denkmaeler, III, 128, a; et Champollion, Notices, II, p 92.

⁴ Champollion, Notices, II, pp. 92 et 98.

La substitution est évidente; mais il faut noter qu'elle n'implique nullement la mort du prince deshérité; elle ne révèle que sa disgrâce, qui a pu être partielle et ne porter que sur la privation du droit d'aînesse et de la couronne.

II.

Tous ces détails concordent avec ceux que les historiens grecs et les abréviateurs de Manéthon fournissent sur la rivalité de Ramsès II et de son frère.³ Ce dernier, régent de l'Égypte pendant une guerre, voulut tuer ou déposséder le conquérant.

Manéthon rattache ingénieusement la lutte des deux rivaux à la fable d'Egyptos et de Danaos, qui n'est toutefois qu'une allégorie grecque, les filles de Danaos, sorte de Zeus argien, figurant les nuées pluvieuses et printannières poussées d'Égypte en Grèce par les vents du Sud, fils d'Egyptos. Avec plus de vraisemblance, M. Ebers a cru retrouver la conspiration dirigée contre Ramsès II dans l'épisode qui fait le sujet du poème de Pentaur.

III.

Le nom du prince rebelle a été conservé, non par les auteurs grecs, mais par l'historien national Manéthon: celui-ci, qui confond quelquefois Ramsès II avec Séti I, au moins d'après ses abréviateurs, dit que le Danaos égyptien s'appelait Armaïs.

On a reconnu depuis longtemps qu'un autre Armaïs des listes manéthoniennes représente le roi Horemheb, ancêtre des Rames-

¹ J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 67.

² Wiedemann, p. 259.

³ Hérodote, II, 107 et 108; Diodore, I, 57; et Fragmenta Historicorum græcorum, édition C. Mueller, T. II, p. 573 et suivantes.

sides,¹ qui leur transmit la légitimité par les femmes de sa famille,² ce qu'indiquent le changement de dynastie d'abord, puis les honneurs rendus aux deux premières reines de la nouvelle lignée, une Sat-Ra, qui diffère de celle dont la tombe est à Thèbes (xxe dynastie), et Tua, femme de Séti I.

Or, les noms égyptiens se transmettaient avec assez de régularité dans chaque famille, et il est tout simple qu'un descendant de Horemheb se soit appelé Horemheb.

Dans ces conditions, il n'y aura pas grande témérité à lire *Horemheb*, c'est-à-dire Armaïs, le groupe martelé en carré qui désignait à Karnak le frère de Ramsès II, appelé Armaïs par Manéthon: les débris de ce groupe



se prêtent sans difficulté à la restitution



ou, pour le dernier signe, soit \triangle , soit \emptyset ,

Le prince Horemheb, dont le tombeau est à Saqqarah, 11 et qui

- ¹ Denkmaeler, III, 162 et 173, Abd el Qurna, b.c.; Wilkinson T. III, pl. 60, etc.
 - ² Cf. Brugsch, History of Egypt, p. 514 et 520.
- ³ Cf. Lieblein, Dictionnaire de Noms propres hiéroglyphiques, Nos. 635, 854, 986 et 1355; Pierret, Etudes égyptologiques, 8e livraison, p. 57, Louvre c, 68; Champollion, Notices, II, 285; etc.
 - ⁴ Cf. Lieblein, Dictionnaire de Noms propres, Nos. 793 et 920.
 - ⁵ Cf. Mariette, Abydos, III, 430.
 - 6 Lieblein, Dictionnaire de Noms propres, No. 355.
 - ⁷ Cf. de Rougé, Chrestomathie, I, p. 110.
 - ⁸ Cf. Champollion, Notices, I, 647.
 - 9 Cf. Lieblein, 903, et Denkmaeler, III, 184.
- ¹⁰ Cf. Champollion, Notices, I, p. 411, 512, 733, etc.; et II, p. 77, 104, 223, etc.; Lieblein, Nos. 693 et 894; etc.
- ¹¹ De Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 36-7; et II, 104-8; Wiedemann, *Proceedings*, Juin, 1889, pp. 424-5; etc.

ne se dit pas fils de roi, mais qui porte l'uræus, a des titres très voisins de ceux du frère de Sésostris. M. Birch le prenait pour le roi Horemheb de la xviii[®] dynastie, qui aurait été détrôné; ¹ on pourrait peut-être aussi voir en lui le fils de Séti I dépossédé à la fin, non de tous ses honneurs puisqu'il aurait été régent, mais de son titre de fils ou d'héritier, comme le faux Pentaur du papyrus Judiciaire avait été privé de son propre nom.

LE NOM DU CHEVAL.

T.

Les égyptologues reconnaissent que le nom égyptien du cheval (assimilé jadis par M. de Rougé à l'arabe hedjah²) vient d'une racine *heter* qui signifie joindre, et qui a laissé de nombreux dérivés dans les hiéroglyphes comme dans le copte. Le cheval était donc un animal de paire ou de couple par excellence, si bien qu'on se bornait dans un grand nombre de cas, surtout en écrivant son nom d'une manière cursive, à le faire suivre du déterminatif général des quadrupèdes.

Pour appliquer ce nom à d'autres animaux, on avait recours à des modifications, à des périphrases et à des déterminatifs caractéristiques: on écrivait, par exemple, ou bien son étude sur le cheval, et a montré par là qu'il faut tenir compte de certaines habitudes graphiques dont on néglige quelquefois l'importance; lui-même paraît avoir commis un oubli de ce genre en lisant Mauna et non Iliuna le mot sans doute par souci de la vraisemblance, les Méoniens étant plus rapprochés de l'Égypte qu'Ilion.

- 1 Zeitschrift, 1877, p. 149.
- ² Mélanges d'archéologie égyptienne et assyrienne, 3° fascicule, p. 277.
- ³ Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire, p. 175; cf. Denkmaeler, II, 122, et III, 5, l. 11.
 - 4 Id., Dictionnaire, p. 153.
 - ⁵ Denkmaeler, III, 219, l. 19.
 - 6 Études sur l'antiquité historique, p. 428.
 - ⁷ Maspero, Recueil de Travaux, VIII, p. 84.

Dès le début du nouvel Empire, une longue habitude d'écrire le nom du cheval se révèle dans le groupe qui est appliqué à un attelage, et d'où a disparu toute trace du duel que nécessiterait la racine aussi bien que la scène.

L'inscription d'Ahmès, qui nomme le cheval,² montre de plus que le char de guerre était connu en Égypte dès le premier roi du nouvel Empire, avant l'an 5 du règne (l. 6, 7, et 14); et comme la 18e dynastie, qui commence le nouvel Empire, est la continuation directe de la 17e, qui finit le moyen, il est naturel d'admettre avec M. Chabas³ que celle-ci connaissait le cheval aussi bien que celle-là

II.

Mais la 17° dynastie elle-même n'est guère éloignée des 12°, 13°, et 14°, et quand on rencontre sous ces dernières une foule de noms propres identiques à celui du cheval, et seulement du cheval, on est fondé à reconnaître là le mot cheval plutôt que tout autre.

Les monuments d'Abydos fournissent, pour les 12°, 13°, et 14° dynasties, les noms suivants, avec le déterminatif des quadrupèdes : 4 (12° dynastie, an 3° d'Amenemha I et an 1° d'Ousertesen I; Boulaq, Mariette, No. 558).

(femme; 13° ou 14° dynastie; Boulaq, Mariette, No. 778).

homme; 13° ou 14° dynastie; Mariette, Boulaq,

(homme; Londres, Lieblein, No. 380).

(femme; Turin, Lieblein, Nos. 433 et 533).

- ¹ Denkmaeler, III, 10. ² Denkmaeler, III, 12, b.
- 3 Chabas, Études sur l'antiquité historique, p. 426.

4 Mariette, Abydos, Tome III; et Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms propres hiéroglyphiques, Tome I.

⁵ Cf. Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms propres, No. 99; et J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 8.

⁶ Cf. J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 48.

Sur une stèle, le nom propre (variantes), , et (variantes), , et (variantes), ooo est suivi d'un déterminatif peu distinct, qui ressemble presque à un cheval galopant ou caracolant (Het'eru est la mère d'un personnage qui a une autre mère, c'està-dire une belle-mère; 12°, 13°, ou 14° dynastie; Boulaq, Mariette, Nos. 836 et 669; cf. Londres, Lieblein, No. 300).

Il y a encore aux stèles d'Abydos, qui semblent mentionner l'écurie dans le titre DII , les noms suivants, sans déterminatifs:

(femme; règne d'Amenemha I et d'Usertesen I; Londres, Lieblein, No. 146).

(homme; règne d'Amenemha III; Florence, Lieblein, No. 146).

(homme ; 12° dynastie ; Boulaq, Mariette, No. 662 ; cf. Lieblein, No. 500).

(homme; 13° ou 14° dynastie, Boulaq, Mariette, No. 835.)

(homme; 13° ou 14° dynastie; Boulaq, Mariette, No 817).

(femme ; 13° ou 14° dynastie ; Boulaq, Mariette, No. 827)

(nom ou surnom de femme; 13° ou 14° dynastie; Boulaq. Mariette, No. 895).

(homme; 13° ou 14° dynastie; Boulaq, Mariette, No. 930)

(homme; 13° ou 14° dynastie; Boulaq, Mariette, No. 988; of. Lieblein, No. 218).

(femme; Louvre, c. 197)²

¹ Mariette, No. 796, et Lieblein, No. 504.

² Pierret, Études égyptologiques, 8º Livraison, p. 67; cf. de Rougé, Nouvelles Notices sommaires sur les Monuments égyptiens du Louvre, p. 150.

Ainsi, on trouve pour la première moitié du moyen Empire dixsept noms propres, au moins, reproduisant d'une manière exacte celui du cheval, et dans l'état actuel de la question il n'y a aucun motif apparent pour ne pas voir là le cheval.

III.

En sera-t-il de même pour l'ancien Empire, qui paraît se rattacher aussi directement au moyen que le moyen au nouveau, s'il existait alors des formes comme " et avec chute de finale dans les noms propres?" i

L'affirmation ou la négation, ici, seraient également hasardées (qu'on tienne compte ou non du fait que le papyrus médical de Berlin, écrit à la 19^e dynastie, mentionne le cheval, car ce texte a pu aussi bien rester intact qu'être *amélioré*, comme le fut, sous Aménophis III, un autre traité du même genre).

D'une part, la forme \(\) \(

² Mariette, Abydos, t. III, p. 240.

⁴ Mariette, Abydos, t. III, p. 108.

6 Denkmaeler, II, 15, 25, etc.

7 Pyramides d'Ounas, l. 457.

⁹ *Id.*, p. 782.

¹⁰ Id., p. 873.

¹ Maspero, *Proceedings*, Mars, 1890, p. 242.

³ Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms propres, No. 551.

⁵ Cf. Brugsch, Papyrus Rhind, p. 46 et No. 331.

⁸ Cf. Brugsch, Supplément au dictionnaire, p. 798.

¹¹ Denkmaeler, III, 153 et 60, 219 e, et 187 c et d.

D'autre part, si la forme désigne un animal, comme c'est possible, et alors un animal bien connu, puisque le mot s'écrivait sans déterminatif, faut-il voir nécessairement dans la bête ainsi nommée le même quadrupède que sous le nouvel Empire? La question reste indécise en présence du nom de quadrupède qui figure dans une ancienne liste de fermes (tombeau de Semnefer, 4° dynastie), accompagné d'un déterminatif spécial, mais douteux.¹ Le déterminatif étant douteux, l'exemple ne saurait être probant: il prête à l'hypothèse.

Ainsi, on a déjà supposé que ce mot peut signifier la hyène,² en admettant une lecture fautive, \$\mathbb{B}\, d'une forme contemporaine \$\mathbb{O}^3\$ du nom de la hyène, métathèse évidente pour hetem ou heteb, \$\mathbb{A}\, \mathbb{O}\, \

On a vu aussi dans het'ert une variante du nom de l'ichneumon, le ce qui serait une métamorphose possible, mais un peu inattendue peut-être, de ce nom, dont les hiéroglyphes donnent la forme of the copte la forme of the

- ¹ Denkmaeler, II, 28.
- ² Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon, 2^e année, fascicule I, pp. 8 e 9.
- 3 Denkmacler, II, 22; cf. Lieblein, No. 249.
- ⁴ Chabas, Voyage d'un égyptien, pp. 124-5, et Papyrus magique, Harris, 1. 3, et B, 1. 3.
 - ⁵ J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 65, et IV., 292.
 - ⁶ Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms propres, No. 830.
 - 7 Naville, Todtenbuch, II, 192.
 - 8 Id., 193.
 - 9 Id., 406.
 - 10 Maspero, Proceedings, Mars, 1890, p. 242.
- ¹¹ Champollion, Notices, II, p. 512; cf. Denkmaeler, II, 140, et III, 224, etc.

Enfin, on a cru reconnaître dans le signe dont il s'agit, un quadrupède voisin par exemple du chacal,¹ lequel était confondu assez souvent par les Egyptiens avec le chien et le loup, comme le montrent certains déterminatifs,² ainsi que les noms de Cynopolis et de Lycopolis donnés aux villes du dieu chacal.

Cette dernière opinion peut fort bien se soutenir: un animal semblable à celui qui détermine le mot se se rencontre couplé et domestiqué, à la quatrième dynastie, dans un des titres du grand veneur Amten, et l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace dans les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace duns les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace duns les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace duns les noms propres se l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace duns l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace d'ans l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace d'ans l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace d'ans l'idée d'unir, het er, qui a laissé sa trace d'ans l'idée

On remarquera que le même couple, qui se voit trois fois au tombeau d'Amten, y est toujours figuré d'une manière différente; la première fois l'animal a le museau et les oreilles pointus, la seconde fois il a une tête ronde à oreilles pointues et porte un collier, la troisième fois il a le museau long et les oreilles tombantes. Est-ce un rat, une hyène, un chacal, un loup, un chien de chasse?

Ces trois variantes, dans un texte écrit en grands hiéroglyphes détaillés et soignés, doivent nous mettre en défiance relativement

¹ Brugsch, Supplément au Dictionnaire, p. 871, et Dictionnaire Géographique, p 549.

² Cf. Naville, *Todtenbuch*, 87, ch. 24; Champollion, Notices, II, pp. 99 et 100; Wilkinson, II, p. 90; Recueil de Travaux, IX, p. 83, et X, p. 146; Maspero, Boulaq, 404, etc.

³ Lieblein, Dictionnaire de noms propres, No. 476, Leide.

⁴ Id., No. 539, stèle c. 39 du Louvre.

⁵ Denkmaeler, II, 3 et 5.

⁶ Cf. Zeitschrift, 1884, p. 39, l. 21; Champollion, Notices, II, p. 543; et Hérodote, II, 122.

⁷ Cf. Erman, Zeitschrift, 1881, p. 42; Denkmaeler, II, 96; et Wilkinson, The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians, édition Birch, I, pl. 2, b; et II, p. 99.

aux conclusions à tirer, pour le mot *het'ert*, d'un exemple unique représenté par un petit hiéroglyphe douteux et peut-être mal copié. Qui sait même si ce dernier déterminatif, en fin de compte et pour épuiser toutes les hypothèses, ne pourrait pas avoir été un cheval?

Il y a un rat qui ressemble à une hyène dans une dénomination de la sixième dynastie, le rat blanc; dans les titres de Rekhmara, le chacal ressemble à un rat; 2 M. Chabas a pris pour la hyène, 3 au Todtenbuch de Lepsius,4 un animal qui est le porc ou l'hippopotame d'après le Todtenbuch de M. Naville (cf. le mot de l'ancien Empire,6 montrant par parenthèse que le porc exista de tous temps en Égypte); le veau 📗 🖁 — figuré sur une planche des Denkmaeler⁷ ressemble à un chien, à un cheval, à une panthère, etc., autant qu'à un veau; un mahes ou lion du Mythe d'Horus ressemble à un rat;8 M. Le Page Renouf se demande si un animal des Denkmaeler est un lion ou un rat;9 le cheval représenté à Edfou, dans un titre d'Astarté, 10 ressemble à un chacal, et inversement le chacal des pyramides ressemble parfois à un cheval; " le crocodile de Sebak est un chacal sur un des monuments du Louvre; 12 etc. Les confusions de ce genre fourniraient une longue liste.

IV.

Quelque soit l'animal représenté au tombeau de Semnefer, hyène, rat, chacal, chien, etc., rien ne montre encore, pour le moment, qu'il faille rapporter à un de ces animaux plutôt qu'au cheval le nom propre , d'autant que rien ne montre non plus que le cheval ait été inconnu sous l'ancien Empire.

Le silence des vieux textes, si peu nombreux et si peu variés, ne prouve pas plus au sujet du cheval qu'au sujet du coq, par

² Virey, le Tombeau de Rekhmara, passim.

¹ J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, I, 63.

³ Voyage d'un Égyptien, p. 125. ⁴ Pl. 41, ch. 110. ⁵ II, 258.

Maspero, Trois années de fouilles, p. 191; cf. Recueil, III, 123; Denkmaeler,
 II, 5; Mariette, Abydos, III, pp. 163-4; Lieblein, Nos. 281, 334, et 476, etc.
 II, 96.
 V, 1. 8.
 Proceedings, Juin, 1886, p. 156.

¹⁰ Naville, Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus, 13.

¹¹ Recueil de Travaux, V, 67 et 192; cf. Champollion, Notices, pp. 835 et 888.

¹² Pierret, Études égyptologiques, 8e Livraison, p. 49.

exemple, surtout si l'on réfléchit que le cheval a pu être souvent impur (au même titre que le fer chez certains peuples), comme l'indiquent un passage du *Todtenbuch*, l'absence de toute momie de cheval, et la rareté des emprunts faits à l'animal par la médecine pharaonique. On s'aperçoit bien que le cheval avait jadis moins d'importance dans l'armée qu'au Nouvel Empire, la cavalerie n'étant point mentionnée dans les titres des mastaba, mais elle l'était fort peu aussi dans les titres de la 18º dynastie : conclure dès maintenant à l'absence complète de l'animal aux anciennes époques, ce serait se montrer aussi exclusif que l'ont été certains historiens grecs affirmant, ou que Sésostris enseigna l'usage du cheval¹ (parce qu'il avait une belle cavalerie²), ou qu'après Sésostris il n'y eut plus de chevaux ni de chars en Égypte³ (parce que la cavalerie devint moins nombreuse ou moins prisée⁴).

Les Égyptiens, eux, faisaient remonter la domestication du cheval jusqu'au règne mythologique d'Horus, d'après une tradition constante qui persistait aussi bien du temps des Grecs qu'à l'époque de Séti I.5 Et en effet, qu'ils aient ou non adopté à la 18e dynastie la même race chevaline que les Amazones, comme le veut M. Piétrement, il serait étonnant que leurs premiers ancêtres n'eussent pas rencontré dans les plaines du Delta un animal qui habitait à l'âge de pierre la Syrie, sans parler de l'Afrique septentrionale; qui était domestiqué dès le règne de Sargon I dans la Chaldée, pays dont les vieux rois, correspondants des Pharaons vers 1430, connurent l'Égypte de très bonne heure et peut-être de tous temps; qui se trouvait jadis et se trouve encore aujourd'hui en liberté sur les bords du Tigre et de l'Euphrate, si semblables à ceux du Nil; et qui enfin paraît avoir existé de même à l'état sauvage ou à demi sauvage (2,T02,007T, equus sylvestris), en Égypte ou près de l'Égypte sous le nouvel Empire, dont les textes parlent tantôt de poulains poursuivis par des lions, tantôt de montagnes habitées par des chevaux.6

¹ Dicéarque, Fragmenta Historicorum græcorum, édition Mueller, II, p. 235.

² Joséphe contre Apion, I, 15.

³ Hérodote, II, 108.

⁴ Cf. Todtenbuch, ch. 129, l. 67; Naville, Todtenbuch, II, 333; et Le Page Renouf, Proceedings, 1884, pp. 41-2.

⁵ Dicéarque, fragment 7; Plutarque, de Iside et Osiride, 19; et Champollion, Notices, II, p. 76.

⁶ Chabas, Études sur l'Antiquité historique, p. 542.

TYRE,

By G. A. Simcox, M.A.

Isaiah xxiii, 17, 18.

"And it shall come to pass after the end of seventy years, that the LORD will visit Tyre, and she shall turn to her hire, and shall commit fornication with all the kingdoms of the world upon the face of the earth. And her merchandise and her hire shall be holiness to the LORD: it shall not be treasured nor laid up; for her merchandise shall be for those that dwell before the LORD, to eat sufficiently, and for stately clothing."

These verses suggest many questions. Are they by the author of 15 and 16? Are they an alternative? Are they an addition? Does the prophet think of the recovery of Tyre after affliction by the Assyrians or the Chaldees? If Isaiah prophesied against Tyre, his prophecy would acquire new meaning, and might lead later and lesser prophets to repeat it with additions and alterations (e.g., a prophet who had threatened Tyre with the fate of the Chaldees in the days of Sargon or Sennacherib, might be understood to threaten her with the wrath of the Chaldees in the days of Nebuchadrezzar, Isaiah xxiii, 13) both in the days of Ezekiel and in the days when the curse pronounced by Ezekiel had manifestly run its course. The prosperity of Tyre depended, apart from its natural monopoly of purple dye, upon the enterprise which had created a great entrepôt for the overland trade of Asia and the maritime trade of the Levant. The overland trade was always at the mercy of continental powers, who could stop it, starve it. or concentrate it on some staple town of their own choice. It would not be strange if both Assyrians and Chaldees fostered Carchemish at the expense of Tyre.

Be this as it may, the prophet contemplates a time when Jerusalem will have some of the pretention and none of the resources of a capital, and is to be supplied by the ministry of Tyre. When the trade of Tyre is permitted to revive, Jerusalem will supply her own needs by taxing it heavily. One puzzle is how this could be possible; another how it could be necessary.

As late as Ezekiel (xxvii, 17), Judah and the land of Israel supplied Tyre with wheat. Why then had Jerusalem to be supplied with food by Tyre? Two answers may be given. (1) It is probable that Josiah and even Jehoiakim and Zedekiah ruled a more extensive and fruitful territory than Zerubabel or Nehemiah. It is clear from Kings and Chronicles that Josiah was master in the territory of the northern kingdom, and probable from Zephaniah that he held as good a position against the Philistines as the most prosperous of his predecessors, and occupied the good corn land of the low country. When Jerusalem lay waste, Ashdod and Ekron could enlarge their border. (2) It appears (Nehemiah ix, 36, 37) that the taxation of Persia absorbed nearly all the surplus produce of the land, so that the cultivators had very little margin of profit the expenditure of which would support a capital. Moreover, Jerusalem had no serious manufactures which could make its inhabitants independent of the surrounding agriculturists. It could not live on the profits of the potter's field, nor on the expenditure of governors less abstemious than Nehemiah (Nehemiah v, 14). Yet there were Tyrian traders in the days of Nehemiah (xiii, 16-22), who supplied Jerusalem with fish and all manner of ware, and had to be brought to respect the Sabbath. Obviously as the inhabitants of Jerusalem had money to buy, they had money's worth to sell. Was this wool? Tyre of course was a constant purchaser of the material of her purple cloth. In the time of Ezekiel the Arabians drove their flocks of sheep and goats straight into the Tyrian market, which implies that there was open grazing ground all the way, with no settled agricultural population. This came to an end with the return from the captivity. The settled population of Palestine continued to increase up to the time of the struggle with Rome. When this was over, the Rabbi Judah the Holy, who suffered from chronic toothache, and was supposed to suffer vicariously and to fulfil the prophecy, Isaiah liii, 9, was a great sheep-master, and was able to employ Arab princes to look after his flocks, thus fulfilling the prophecy, Isaiah lxi, 5. The wilderness of Judah was always a good grazing ground, and when the Arabs could not drive their flocks over the mountains of Israel, it may have been worth the while of Tyre to keep up a small factory at Jerusalem to collect the fleeces shorn by the successors of Jesse and Nabal, and this of itself would make the economical existence of Jerusalem possible, though the wilderness

of Judah could not support a trade large enough to bear taxing. The case would be different if Jerusalem became the staple town for all the wool of the Arabian wilderness. This in itself was quite possible. In II Chron. xvii, 17, we read that Jehoshaphat received 700 lambs and as many goats from the kings of Arabia. In II Kings i, 4, we read that Mesha, king of Moab, paid to Israel the enormous tribute of 100,000 lambs and as many rams with their wool. It appears, though doubtfully, from Isaiah xvi, 1, that Israel had some prescriptive title to tribute from Moab, and Mesha may have paid to set a limit to what he regarded as the encroachments of Gad. But the kings of the Arabians can only have paid for trading privileges. In Isaiah lx, 6, 7, one of the many promises which would be equally seasonable after the disaster of Sennacherib or the decree of Cyrus, it seems clear that Jerusalem is to be the centre of the wool trade, and so will be plentifully supplied with rams for sacrifice. It is to be the centre of the spice trade too; -as we may infer, it was before the sickness of Hezekiah, who otherwise could hardly have had spices and precious ointments to display to the ambassadors of Babylon.

In conclusion, it may be observed that the trade of Tyre, which is to be taxed to supply the comfort and dignity of Jerusalem, is not confined to the limits of a single monarchy; the prophet still thinks of all the kingdoms of the earth, while the writers of Esther and the life of Daniel think only of provinces. This protanto tells for dating the passage before the consolidation of the Persian empire under Darius Hystaspes, perhaps before the conquest of Egypt.

THE SUN-STROKE IN EGYPTIAN.

By P. LE PAGE RENOUF.

The Egyptian Sun-stroke is not identical with our 'coup de soleil.'

Some light is thrown on this title by the following passage of an ancient text, of which copies of a more recent date are found in our museums—

"Oh Eye of Horus coming forth from the earth, whose name is 'Striker of the men of Horus."

The Horus who strikes 'his men,' that is, 'men who are his creatures,' is the Sun when rising from the earth . I cannot help it if we have here another Dawn-myth, and one which assigns a fatal character to the Dawn.

The same character is ascribed to the Dawn goddesses Sechet and Renenet, though both of them, like Horus, have their joyous and beneficent aspects.

But Sechet, who like the other goddesses is called the *Eye of Horus*, signifies 'She who striketh.' The name is derived from sex, 'striking.' The expression

^{*} Cf. Denkm., II, 121, 123 g, 142 d, 143 a.

[†] Recueil de Travaux, I, p. 135.

hu em C en $se\chi$, "striking with a hundred blows," which occurs in the third Anastasi papyrus (p. 6, line 13), is a good illustration of the etymology of Sechet.

Sechet, 'the striker,' and Neith, 'she who shooteth,' are both called 'Eye of the Sun'; and this is why Hathor at Dendera is called among her other names $\sqrt{\frac{1}{2}}$ Sechet Nit, 'Eye of Rā,' in a well known passage to which I lately referred.

On the Metternich stele the *Head of Rā* is said to "strike down bad men" \mathbb{R}^{2} which is evidently a comparatively modern imitation of the older phrase, and it is remarkable as being the only known place in which the word $re\chi iu$ is connected with evil. There is an ethical conception here more akin to that of the invocation—

ἢελιός θ ', δs πάντ' ἐφορῆς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις † than to the purely physical one in such epithets as ἐκάεργος, ἐκατηβόλος applied to Apollo.

Another determinative of gives to the group of the sense of beating the ground, *tripudiare*.

^{*} Taf., II, l. 15. *Cf.* M. Golenischeff's Note, p. 4, n. 8. † Iliad, III, 277.

CYPRIOTE AND KHITA.

BY HYDE CLARKE.

The letter of the Rev. Cesare de Cara, S.J., on the connexion of Cyprus with the Khita (Hittites), as suggested by me in 1872,* gives a convenient opportunity for resuming the subject.

That the names of Hamath, Amathus, Kition, &c., are related, is obvious to any observer of the local names of those regions. What is the real connexion is another matter; and so also is the question whether one is descended from the other, or both are of common origin.

What is or are the Khita language or languages—for M. Georges Perrot and myself have put forward the proposition that the characters may be read in more than one language—has not yet been agreed. The question then comes before us as to whether there was originally one character in Cyprus read in one language alone, or read in several languages. On this we have the evidence that there, as elsewhere in the ancient East, and as is now found in India, there were several languages. We may learn too that the languages before the arrival of Phœnicians and Hellenes were non-Aryan.

A convenient mode of beginning the subject will be to examine a few Cypriote characters as to which we can have evidence.

- \$\forall \text{be, pe, phe, Cypriote [Man].} \forall \text{kai, Vy, signifies Man.} \\ \text{Man, Nupe, basa, baga; Musu, mba; Bini, okpea;} \\ \text{Ihewe, ngbea; Okuloma, oubo, owewo.} \end{array}
 - Note.—This character is Yod in Nabathæan, N in Phœnician, Himyaritic, Old Ionic, Iberian, Anglo-Saxon Runes, Welsh Bardic; R in Elbasan Albanian; Sa in Mankassar; Kh in Old Korean.
- mo, Cypriote [Head]. B Tamashek, N. Africa. V kun, Vy, signifies Head. Head, Sobo, ohiomi; Bini, ú-homo; Ihewe (ohu-me?), &c.
- s ne, Cypriote [Elephant]. Hebrew. *Elephant*, Sobo, Bini, eni; Ihewe, eni; Oloma, eni, &c.

^{*} Palestine Exploration Journal. New Series, No. 4, p. 179, &c., &c.

ni, Cypriote [Nose]. sun, Vy, signifies nose. Babylonian Bowl, Khita. Nose, Okuloma, nini; Ujo, nine; Mandenga, nū, nyne; Sobo, unwo, &c.

Note.—An allied character is Na in Battak, Passeppa; A, E in Runes.

- >— me, Cypriote [Bull] ni. } ni, Vy, signifies Bull. Bull, Egbele, āmena; Bini, emela; Ihewe, emela, &c.
- 1 ka, Cypriote [Tooth]. *Tooth*, Okuloma, aka; Ujo, aka; Ihewe, aka; Nupe, ika; Goali, eka, &c.
- re, le, Cypriote (Sun?). Sun, Sobo, ore; Egbele, ele; Bini, owo-re; Okuloma, erua.
- ‡ ba, pa, Cypriote [Lizard].Lizard. Sobo, ogulo-gba;Bini,osi-gbalo;Ihewe, ohió-gbe;Oloma, i-gbara;Nupe,gba-la.

Note.—There is a cuneiform sign pa, ba. There is also an allied Libyan and Tamashek character, but which may, however, be that for cow. On a lodge of Sioux Indians I saw three ‡ and three lizards, being the sign of the medicine man. There is an African property mark recorded in Report 83–84, U.S. Bureau of Ethnology, p. 182. An allied character is found in Runes. It is employed in Lolo of S.W. China.

This examination is based on the consideration of what is the ideographic meaning of the Cypriote characters, and by which the ultimate phonetic linguistic relations will be determined. Let us take ζ . The transliterations by Professor Sayce is Be, Pe, Phe. The character is peculiar, but in my MS. Dictionary of Characters I find many examples. It happens however that in the Vy syllabary of West Africa there is the same character with the sound Kai and the meaning Man. On looking among other African languages of the same group, the Mandenga, for which there is some reason to search, we find Be, Ba, Pe in words for Man corresponding to Be, Pe, Phe in Cypriote. The French philologists have paid particular attention to the Mandenga group.

2, ni, is rather peculiar in form. There is a corresponding sign in Vy, the sound is Sun, and the meaning is Nose. In my Dictionary there are several forms of this character, chiefly applied to N and nasals; so we are safe in concluding the character to be

Nose, and an original nasal. In Africa there are forms of words corresponding to the Cypriote syllable.

Similar remarks are to be made as to the other syllables here illustrated.

The reasons for searching in the negro countries of Africa are sufficient. It is not to be assumed that those negro tribes have any relationship in blood with the Cypriotes. There is no reason however, why those negro tribes may not have derived languages and characters from common sources of culture with the Cypriotes. Indeed, the neighbours of the Vy people in the Republic of Liberia use the English language and the English characters, but we well know they are negroes who in the last generation came from the United States, bringing with them our language. The Vy syllabary, where conforming to the Cypriote, has seldom the same sound, and the Vy often differs from the neighbouring languages. The neighbouring languages, however, illustrate Cypriote sounds, and also the symbols on the autonomous Greek coins. It results that on looking into those neighbouring groups we do find illustrations of Cypriote philology of a non-Aryan class.

The coins of Cyprus available are few, but as they conform to the other autonomous coins known as Greek, we have no difficulty in turning them to account. The symbols on the autonomous coins will be found to connect themselves with the names of the towns. Salamis in Cyprus is an example, but one that will serve better is Byzantium in Thrace (Busant). On its coins we find the Crescent or Moon, Bull, Fish, Corn, Quiver, Ship, &c. These symbols are reproduced on coins as in the following examples: Bull, Buxentum, Li-bisona, Pæstum, Sino-pe; Moon, Sandalium, Isindus, Pæstum; Fish, Li-bisona, Sino-pe, Pæstum, Butuntum; Corn, Isindus, Bisanthe, Me-ssana; Quiver, Isindus; Ship, Nar-basis; Grapes, Bizanthe, Sinope, Bithynium.*

For all these objects words will be found in the corresponding existing languages; but in the case of each city, although the general name word is one, each symbol is expressed in a different language. We know that in the Greek and Roman periods there were cities, as Ephesus and Rome, consisting of quarters, seated on various hills and bearing distinct names. At an early period,

^{*} Hyde Clarke, Early History of the Mediterranean Populations, Trübner, 1882.

as the legendary history of Rome suggests, these quarters were held by distinct tribes, and light is thrown on this by the existence of distinct languages in the same town. The practice exists now, and we have anthropological evidence of it. In the towns of the Nagas in India there is a common town, a common defence, and a common hall; but each quarter has its own defence, its own hall, its own tribe, and its own language.

The explanation of this state of society has become well enough known of late: it is due to the institution of exogamy (or matriarchy), still existing in many parts of the world, under which no man can marry in his own tribe, that constituting a capital crime punishable with death, and he must therefore marry out of his tribe into another. Thus a town or community is formed of several separate tribes for convenience of marriage.

Applying this to Cyprus, we have the various languages of Turanian classes, and it was within the compass of the speaker to have read the Cypriote syllabary or the mass of characters each in his own tongue. This we can well understand from Chinese, the written character being readable not only into Mandarin, but into the several provincial languages, each with its own varying words.

Why the languages of the ancient and pre-bellenic world admit of explanation from those of Africa is illustrated by the example of the Altaic languages. These latter have been found most valuable for the interpretation of the Akkadian. Babylonia is now remote from the Altaic area, because the whole region has been denuded long since of Altaic languages. Africa likewise is remote from Babylonia and the archaic world, for it has been preserved from Assyrian, Persian, Greek, Roman, Semitic, Celtic, Germanic, Slav, invasion. It is only of late centuries that Arabs, Portuguese, and English have penetrated this continent.

In Africa, which has not shared in the vicissitudes of the ancient world, we find the languages preserved, and many other evidences as yet little explored or turned to account. The philologist has for some time known that there are African languages having the characteristic of vocalic euphony like the Altaic, with many points of resemblance, as was shown by Edwin Norris. Their words too sometimes correspond. The African languages in some cases will be found more valuable than the Altaic for the interpretation of ancient languages.

Indeed, what is available as Altaic has yet to be defined. There is the recognizable northern group in Asia and Europe. Then there are Himalayan members illustrated by Brian Hodgson,* and some are inclined to include Japanese. There are relations in Dravidian, which have been examined by Bishop Caldwell in his Dravidian Grammar. The Kolarian languages however, corresponding probably with the earlier European epoch, afford the most affinities. A paper was read by me at the Royal Asiatic Society on the parallel between one of the Santal group and an African member. In Africa there is a large body of languages to which reference has already been made. With these several of the North American languages show connexion. There are traces of the old world syllabaries scattered throughout the American continents and which can be recognized. Hence illustrations are to be found in the publications of the U.S. Ethnological Department.

A matter of some interest in connexion with Cypriote and Khita investigations is the Vy or Vei Syllabary. The Vy country is at Cape Palmas, close to the border of the West Coast of Africa, in the boundary of the Republic of Liberia. We first became acquainted with it here about a quarter of a century ago, through reports reaching us from the Coast. The existence of this character created great interest on the West Coast and enquiries were made. The best known account is that of the distinguished scholar, the Rev. Dr. Kælle, author of the Polyglotta Africana, but the syllabary was also published in Vol. VI of the Journal of the Ethnological Society, New Series, p. 266, by Mr. H. C. Creswick (1867). As early as 1849 Lieut. Forbes, R.N., had examined into the matter.

There are several versions of the origin of this syllabary, which appears to have spread among the Vy people in the last sixty or seventy years. Dr. Kælle gives an account of his interview with Duala Bakere, who claimed to have invented the character or had it communicated to him in a dream.

The great difficulty in accepting this version arises on two sides. First, it is not an alphabet but a syllabary, whereas the Arabic alphabet and the English alphabet had penetrated into the district before the time of Duala. The reversion to the ancient form of a syllabary instead of an alphabet appears anomalous. The second is that many of the characters are not ordinary combinations of

^{*} Hyde Clarke, Himalayan Origin of the Magyars.

forms, such as anyone might invent, but they are precisely of uncommon types, and which are to be found in ancient syllabaries and alphabets, as Cypriote, Khita, Libyan, Chinese, Moso, Lolo, Runes, as will be seen from the Vy characters before given, as in the examples Be, Mo, Ne, Ni, Me, Ba.

As Duala and his friends could not consult Cypriote, inscriptions at Hamath, or Anglo-Saxon MSS., his title to invention may be safely dismissed. There is every probability that the syllabary is not originally Vy, but belonging to some neighbouring race, and the explanation is that Duala adapted it to Vy in his fashion, and with some alterations, which is his title to inventiveness. The syllabary itself is of ancient origin.

The great value of it is that the names of the syllables are in many cases identifiable as Vy words, and thus are recognizable as ideographs and their meaning can be ascertained. With a better knowledge of the Vy vocabulary this material may be increased. Hitherto we have sought for the phonetic relations of Cypriote, Akkadian, and Khita, rather than for the ideographic value. Some few ideographs we get from the Phœnician alphabet.

The ideographic value can be worked out from Cuneiform, Egyptian, and Shwowen Chinese, and further in time from Cypriote, Vy, Khita, Lolo, and Moso. The phonetics are of far less value for decipherment and transliteration than has been assumed, for the sound of an ideograph will vary according to the language, as is shown by ideographs identical in Cypriote and Vy.

We have to go back to a remote epoch of characters beyond even the syllabary. As the alphabet is a selection from a syllabary, causing a great saving of labour and effecting an enormous advance in culture, so is a syllabary, such as the Cypriote, a selection from the great body of ideographs, of which we have examples in Egyptian and Chinese, for the radicals form but a small part of the mass available in Chinese. The first stage, belonging apparently to the epoch of sign or gesture language, was the constitution of an enormous mass of ideographs, from which Egyptian, Cuneiform, and Chinese are derived. In the epoch of spoken language syllabaries had become possible. In all groups of characters, general, syllabic, or alphabetic, we have to recognize the results of selection.

It has not been my mission or my business to decipher or transliterate Khita, having devoted myself to other pursuits. Eighteen

years have now passed since my determination that Khita, or Hamath, constitutes a character, but we are far off from decipherment. The materials are far better than when the decipherment of cuneiform was began. The cause of the delay as to Khita and of the useless expenditure of time and labour and great ability has been the fanciful appropriation of phonetic values to the characters without ascertaining what language is available or applicable. Hence complicated Semitic and Turanian renderings without result, for each interpreter has exercised his own fancy.

The Tarkondemos boss is a valuable instrument, but no one is agreed as to the use to be made of it. It is possible that it represents what may be termed the classical Khita, or the language which obtained a preference for use in public documents. There may be various inscriptions susceptible of other Turanian and also of Semitic renderings.



My comments on this boss and seal (Athenæum, 1880) remain the same after many years, and after considering the other interpretations proposed.

One main point to be determined is the meaning of [][], because this will settle the position of the other character. By me it is assigned to Demos as signifying son, offspring; first for paleographic reasons, and secondly for linguistic reasons. In paleographic [] is a recognizable symbol for son, as in Libyan. [][][], an established form of the double plural, equals sons' son, and the bar on the fourth stroke is a paleographic sign for plural, a further plural. Hence the meaning is Sons' son, Offspring, Descendant, in reference

to descent from the royal race, an historical condition of which we may find examples in Germanic history.

The meaning of Demos or Timmi [Dem] is supported by a Phrygian word, and by a common form of Dem in the African languages for son, child.

That Mr. Rylands has determined the emblem for king, time has the more convinced me. The character for land or country, a double or treble dental, is a common paleographic fact.

There remain the first two characters, to which Tar-Kon are assigned by me, and as to which various ascriptions of animals have been made by others. On examining these heads with the ancient and later coins of Sardis in the region of the inscriptions of the Niobe and pseudo-Sesostris, their identity is not doubtful. On the coins will be found the conventional heads as on the boss, and later the distinct heads of the Bull and Lion, and further on the Bull and Lion embodied.

Heads as the type of an animal are found still in MSS. of Southwestern China (Captain Gill's MSS.), and in Indian records of North America, that is a part for the whole.

The three tufts on each side of the head are a plural symbol for hair, for the mane of the lion, of which there are paleographic examples. The use of three for a plural is widely distributed, as three fingers for the hand in North America, New Zealand, &c.

The Bull and Lion, the Bull taking precedence of the Lion, and the name of Tarkon and its equivalents, are found extensively on the coins, monuments, and place names of the region, though more might have been written on the subject, if men's minds had not been prepossessed by various theories as to the assignment of the animals.

Why the Bull should precede the Lion does not at first appear, but the Bull, Aleph, as a horned animal, represents the earlier Elephant, displaced in the north. The Elephant, it may be noted, figures in the Cypriote syllabary.

The apportionment of Tar, Tara, and Kon, Kona, Ku, to the Bull and Lion, is not difficult. Though Tara or Tura is also an Indo-European form for Bull, it is only so because it belongs to universal language. Looking to Africa we find Tar, as Turi, Toro, Tolo, and Kon, as Kun, Kenen, Jinan.

These animals had become the token or fetish of the sovereign race. As the Bull represented the Elephant, so was he represented by the horned Stag or Goat, and on coins we find the Bull and Stag or Bull and Goat replacing the Bull and Lion.

Besides Tarkon other words signifying Bull and Lion appear as the kingly title.

If Tarkondemos is rightly transliterated as here given, then we have the materials for transliteration and decipherment. If however Tarkon forms one word and one sign as alleged, then my plan falls to the ground.

Tarkondemos is not in its origin a name, but the kingly or dynastic title like Cæsar.



The next Meeting of the Society will be held at 9, Conduit Street, Hanover Square, W., on Tuesday, 4th November, 1890, at 8 p.m.



ERRATA.

Page 156, line 2, for February read March. Page 365, line 20, for there read where. Page 365, transpose lines 20 and 21.

THE FOLLOWING BOOKS ARE REQUIRED FOR THE LIBRARY OF THE SOCIETY.

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